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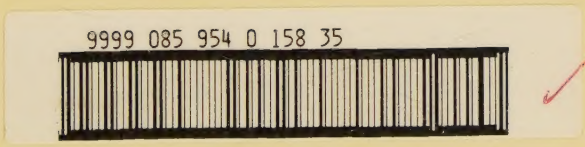
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WAVERLEY ABBEY.

WAVERLEY ABBEY

BY

HAROLD BRAKSPEAR, F.S.A.

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GROUND PLAN OF WAVERLEY ABBEY.

NOTE.—The blocks forming Plate 19 have been kindly lent by the Victoria County History Syndicate, to whom also thanks are due for permission to reproduce the Plans on pages 9 and 70.

WAVERLEY ABBEY.

INTRODUCTION.

THE Abbey of Waverley is situated upon the bank of the river Wey, in a secluded valley two miles south of Farnham, in Surrey, and has been the subject of attention of numerous writers. In nearly all cases they have restricted themselves to a history of the monastery gleaned principally from the well-known *Annales monasterii de Waverleia*,[1] preserved in the British Museum, and from later documents. Owing, apparently, to the scattered and fragmentary ruins of this once important abbey, no one, up to the present, has attempted any detailed description of the character and uses of the various buildings of which they formed a part. Even with all the help that may be obtained from the Annals, which is considerable, the task of dealing in any connected way with the arrangements of the monastery would have been hopeless, had it not been for the enterprise which has accomplished the complete excavation of the site.

Upon the 28th of July, 1898, the Surrey Archæological Society held one of its meetings at Waverley, and as a result of the interesting account then given by

[1] Cott. MS. *Vesp.* A. xvi. The book consists of 197 quarto leaves of vellum, containing a history of the world from the Incarnation of Our Lord to the year 1291, of which the latter part, written as the events occurred, is full of references to the abbey buildings. It has been printed at length in the Rolls Series of Chronicles, under the editorship of the Rev. H. R. Luard, M.A., 1865, from which the text of the references in this paper has been taken.

Mr. W. H. St. John Hope, of what might be found below the turf, steps were taken to begin a systematic examination of the site at the expense of that Society. Through the energy of the Rev. T. S. Cooper, one of the Honorary Secretaries of the Society, and with the hearty co-operation of Mr. Rupert Anderson, the owner of the site, excavations were started in the following summer under the direction of Mr. Cooper, and with the advice and occasional help of Mr. Hope.

The chapter-house was first cleared out, followed by the monks' infirmary and the buildings on the south side of the cloister.

In the autumn of 1899, when the work had proceeded thus far, the writer was invited to undertake the agreeable task of examining and measuring in detail the portions exposed, after which it was found necessary to cover in the greater part of the excavations. From that period the work continued regularly under the writer's direction, and, after everything discovered during the year had been carefully measured and planned, it was covered up again. During 1900 the great church was explored, together with the west side of the cloister. The year following the lay brothers' infirmary and other buildings on the west side of the cloister, with the western part of the church, were exposed. In 1902 the guest-house next the church and the brew-house were excavated, followed in the next year by the block of building north-west of the church. After continual attempts to discover the gate-house, the further excavation of the site was abandoned, owing to the great expense that had been incurred and the profitless nature of the result in the northern part of the site.

Almost from the beginning of the excavations Mr. Henry Horncastle has given his constant attention to the work, and to his untiring exertions and care the satisfactory result of the undertaking is in a great measure due. He also has taken a most interesting series of photographs of all the more important discoveries, from every point of view, which he has placed

at the disposal of the Society to illustrate this account. Other valuable photographs have been taken by Mr. Cooper, some of which will also form illustrations.

GENERAL HISTORY.

Upon the 24th day of November, 1128, William Giffard, bishop of Winchester, founded the abbey of Waverley, and introduced as inmates a colony of thirteen monks from the abbey of Aumone (*Elemosina*) in Normandy. These monks were of the reformed order of Benedictines, called Cistercians from their head house, Cisteaux (*Cistercium*) in Burgundy, and were the first monks of that order to be brought into England.[1] Though the annals of Aumone do not give the foundation of Waverley until the 18th of October, 1129,[2] there is every reason to suppose the earlier date to be the correct one. Besides the independent testimony of the chroniclers of Waverley and Peterborough, who both give the same and earlier date, the death of bishop William in January 1128–9[3] would clearly prevent him from founding the abbey at the later date.

The origin of the Cistercian order and the peculiarities of its severe rule have so often been treated by able writers that it is needless to repeat them, except perhaps a few sentences which deal with the foundation of new houses and the arrangements of the buildings.

"None of our houses are to be built in cities, in castles, or villages, but in places remote from the conversation

[1] *Annales de Waverleia*, 75.

1128. "Hoc anno fundata est abbatia de Waverleia a domino Willelmo Giffard episcopo Wintoniensi viii. kal. Decembris."

Chronicon Petroburgense, 20 *b*.

"Anno m°c°xxviii. Ordo Cisterciensis primo venit in Angliam. Abbatia de Waverle fundata est, filia domus de Elemosina, hoc est transmissis illuc de Elemosina xij monachis cum abbate, ei subjectionem et obedientiam, sicut filia matri debet."

[2] *Originum Cisterciensium* (1877), i. 17.

[3] *Cartularium Prioratus Sancti Swithuni Winton*, 48 *b*.

of men, and let all churches of our Order be dedicated and founded in honour of the Blessed Mary.

"Let there be no towers of stone for bells, nor of wood to an immoderate height, which are unsuitable to the simplicity of the Order.

"Let glass windows be white only, except in abbeys that have been of another Order, which may retain those made otherwise at the time of their conversion.

"Superfluities and notable curiosities in carvings, paintings, buildings, pavements, and other like things, which may deform the ancient honesty of the Order and are not consistent with our poverty, in abbeys, granges, and cellarers' buildings, we forbid to be made, nor any paintings except the image of our Saviour. (Tables too that appertain to the altars may only be painted in one colour.) All these things let father-abbots in their visitations carefully enquire about and cause to be observed.

"It is not lawful for anyone to found an abbey of our Order, or to transfer one already founded, or even to change or incorporate the place of another religion by subjection to the Order, except by leave of the General Chapter.

"Let twelve monks at least, with the abbot as thirteenth, be sent out to new houses. Nevertheless, let them not be settled there till the place be so furnished with houses, books and other necessaries, that they can live and observe the rule there."[1]

[1] Cistercian Statutes, Ch. I. Vide *Yorkshire Archæological Journal*, ix. 240, 338 and 339.

"In civitatibus, castellis, villis, nulla nostra construenda sunt Cœnobia, sed in locis a conversatione hominum semotis, omnesque Ecclesiæ Ordinis nostri in honore Beatæ Mariæ dedicentur et fundentur.

"Turres lapideæ ad campanas non fiant, nec ligneæ altitudinis immoderatæ, quæ ordinis dedeceant simplicitem.

"Vitreæ albæ tantum fiant, exceptis Abbaciis quæ alterius ordinis fuerunt, quæ aliter factas tempore suæ conversionis poterunt retinere.

"Superfluitates et curiositates notabiles in sculturis, picturis, ædificiis, pavimentis, et aliis similibus, quæ deformant antiquam ordinis honestatem, et paupertati nostræ non congruunt, in Abbatiis, Grangiis vel Cellariis ne fiant interdicimus, nec picturæ præter ymaginem

Once a year the abbot of a head house had to visit each of the daughter houses founded from it, either personally or by co-abbots. Also annually all the abbots of the Order had to attend the general chapter at Cisteaux unless prevented by sickness.[1] Abbots in distant countries, or who had daughter houses in distant countries, were exempted from annually attending chapter and visiting, but had their stated times for both.[2] The supervision of the community in general being so strictly considered, and being in so direct and regular communion by visitation and attendance at general chapter, it is little wonder that such universal similarity in Cistercian planning and architecture prevailed.

Owing to this subservient system, the honour of being the earliest founded Cistercian abbey in any country was an important one, particularly in England, where the new Order made rapid strides in a very short time. Within twenty years of the foundation of Waverley, no fewer than thirty-one new houses came into being, of which seven were dependent upon Waverley,[3] and in 1148, thirteen already founded English houses of the Savignian rule joined the Cistercian order. During the next hundred years, twenty-eight more houses were founded, of which six owed their origin to Waverley,[4]

Salvatoris. (Tabulæ vero quæ altaribus apponuntur, uno colore tantummodo colorentur.) Hæc omnia Patres Abbates in suis visitationibus diligenter inquirant et faciant observari.

"Nulli liceat Abbatiam nostri Ordinis fundare, vel fundatam alias transferre, vel etiam commutare, seu locum alterius religionis Ordini per subjectionem incorporare, nisi de licencia Capituli Generalis. . . .

"Duodecim monachi ad minus cum abbate terciodecimo ad nova cœnobia transmittantur. Nec tamen illuc destinentur, donec locus domibus, libris, et aliis necessariis ita aptetur, ut vivere et regulam ibidem valeant observare."

[1] *Carta Caritatis*, par. "De Visitationibus."

[2] Cistercian Statutes, Chap. V. Vide *Yorkshire Archæological Journal*, x. 55–56.

[3] These were Garendon, Ford, Thame, and Bruerne, with Bordesley and Bittlesden, daughters of Garendon, and Merevale, a daughter of Bordesley.

[4] These were Combe and Grace Dieu, with Flaxley and Stoneleigh, daughters of Bordesley, and Bindon and Dunkeswell, daughters of Ford.

and these, with four later foundations,[1] brought up the total number in England and Wales to seventy-six. To various English abbeys twenty-three houses in other countries owe their origin, viz. eleven in Scotland, ten in Ireland, and two in Norway.

Though there were nuns of the Cistercian order, the origin of their various houses was not dependent upon one another as those for monks. There were some twenty-six of these establishments in England and Wales, and one, Marham, in Norfolk, was under the jurisdiction of Waverley.[2]

The founder of Waverley endowed the house with a considerable tract of land, embracing the manor of Waverley, two acres of meadow in Elstead, and pannage for hogs with liberty to cut wood in his coppices of Farnham.[3] The extent of the manor was "from the oak at Tileford called the Kynghoc by the King's way towards Farnham as far as the Wynterburn and thence by its bank which runs from Farnham to the hill called Richardishulle and across the said hill and bridge at Waneford to the meadow of Tyleford called Ilvethammesmead and thence direct to the aforesaid oak."[4] It embraced an irregular piece of land about two miles from north to south by a mile wide at the north end, narrowing to a point at the south. The river, after forming the north-east boundary, turned at a right angle, and with another two turns passed through the middle of the area. The valley is of considerable width, and is bounded on either side by low hills, and though not so circumscribed as at Rievaulx, Fountains, and Roche, makes a typical Cistercian site.

The site of the abbey was from its earliest days subjected to frequent floods, the earliest recorded being in 1201, when the buildings were inundated and great

[1] One of these was Rewley, a daughter of Thame, and therefore subject to Waverley.

[2] *Annales de Waverleia*, 145 *b*.

[3] *Monasticon Anglicanum* (1825), v. 241, from an inspeximus charter of Edward II. *Vide* Rot. Pat. 11 E. II. part 2. m. 36.

[4] *Ibid.*

damage done to the crops.[1] In 1233, "In the house of Waverley a terrible tempest, raging beyond measure most vehemently, destroying and overturning stone bridges, walls, and ways, rushing impetuously through the cloister and all the offices, and rising even as far as the new monastery, rose in many places to a height of eight feet."[2] This was followed on 28th November, 1265, by another and even greater flood, which "forced itself into all the offices of the abbey situated in the lower places. For which cause the convent being disturbed, some passed the following night in the church, some in the treasury, and others in the guest-house, according as they were able, and several days were occupied in cleaning the houses."[3]

The whole valley has been gradually silting up with gravel, caused principally by these periodical floods, ever since the abbey was first built. The original floor level was some six feet beneath the present turf. By the end of the twelfth century the ground must have risen considerably, as the monks then raised the floor levels of the buildings some two feet. This level had again to be raised in the fifteenth century a further two feet, and drains were put beneath the new floors to carry off the

[1] *Annales de Waverleia*, 90 *b*.

1201. "Tempestas exorta grandinis et pluviæ, post octavas Sancti Johannis Baptistæ, id est viii. id. Julii, die decima, hora vi., luna iv., domos cum suis habitatoribus per loca, segetes, et fœnum, et linum ex magna parte delevit. Abbatia vero de Waverleia, ex harum inundatione aquarum pæne submersa, vehementer est periclitata."

[2] *Ibid.* 124 *b*.

1233. "In domo vero de Waverlea tempestas terribilis supra modum vehementissime desæviens, pontes lapideos, muros, et calcata diruens et confundens, claustrum et omnes officinas impetuose transcurrens, et etiam usque in novum monasterium excrescens in pluribus locis usque ad altitudinem fere viii. pedum ascendit."

[3] *Ibid.* 162.

1265. "Hoc anno, quarto kalendas Decembris, Sabbato videlicet ante primam Dominicam adventus Domini, aqua fluminis alveum suum consuetum transcendens, impegit in omnes officinas abbatiæ in locis inferioribus sitas. Quam ob causam turbato conventu, quidam in ecclesia, quidam in thesauraria, quidam in cella hospitium, prout poterant, noctem subsequentem transegerunt, nonnullis etiam diebus in mundificatione domorum occupati."

surface water. Since the Suppression the ground has not silted as much as might be expected, the later floors being found only some eighteen inches beneath the surface, while those of the church were only just below the turf.

The abbey buildings were placed upon the north bank of the river, not far from the middle of the manor, and according to the *Consuetudines* should have consisted in the first place of at least a church, a frater, a dorter, a guest-house and a porter's lodge,[1] but whether any part of these were built in stone before the arrival of the convent is doubtful. At Meaux a great house with mud walls, and a chapel with a dorter under, seem to have been all that was provided for the convent upon its arrival, and it was not till ten years later that any stone building was started.[2] At Waverley the buildings seem to have been begun in stone shortly after the foundation, and among the remains of the later buildings have been found so much of the walls of the original structure as to enable most of the principal buildings round the cloister to be traced with absolute certainty. They were laid out upon a remarkably small scale, which may have been due to the Order being fresh in this country, and the founder uncertain how it would be received. If this was the reason the doubt was quickly set at rest, as great numbers must have joined the new Order in a very short time. In 1133 a colony was despatched to occupy the abbey of Garendon in Leicestershire.[3] Two years later Ford was occupied by another colony of Waverley monks,[4] followed in 1138 by Thame.[5] Bruerne was colonised in 1147,[6] and Combe in 1150.[7] In 1187

[1] *Nomasticon Cisterciense* (Solesme, 1892), 215.
". . . . domibusque, oratorio, refectorio, dormitorio, cella hospitum et portarii, necessariis etiam temporalibus : "

[2] *Chronica de Melsa* (Rolls Series, 1866), i. 82 and 178.

[3] *Annales de Waverleia*, 76 *b*.

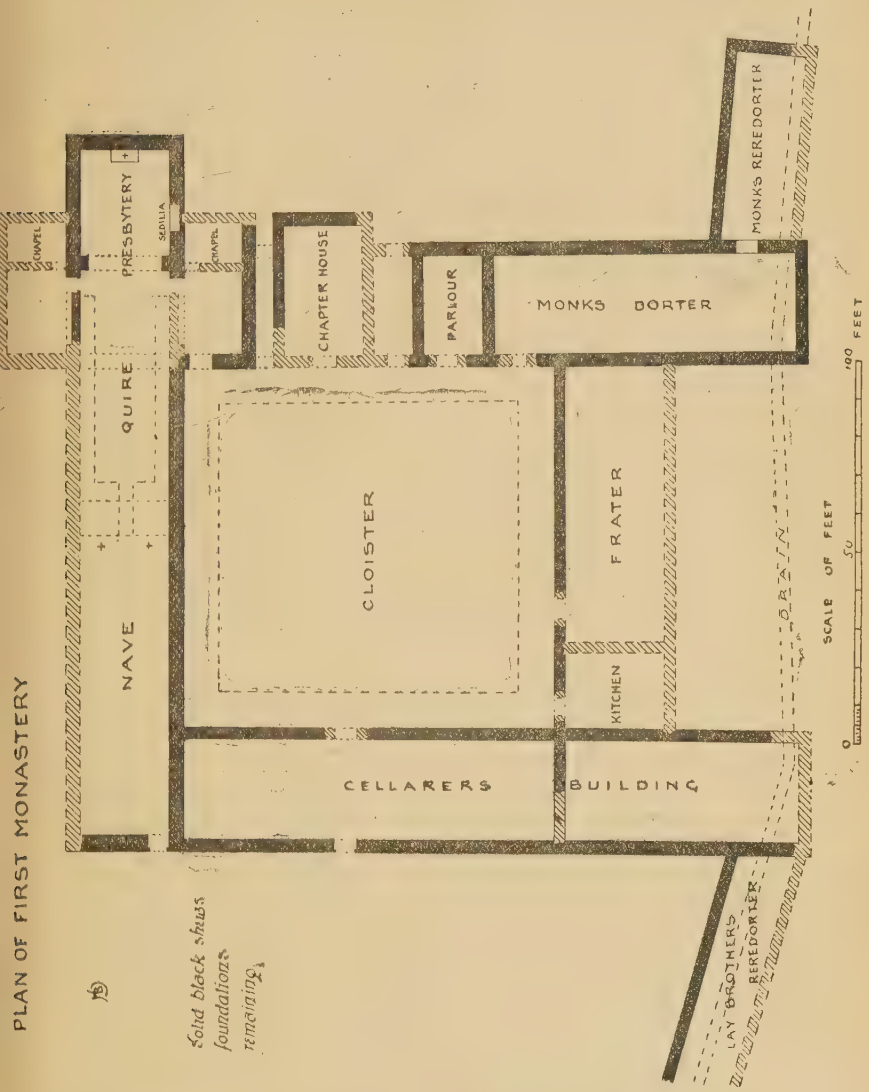
[4] *Ibid.* 77 *b*.

[5] *Ibid.* 78.

[6] *Ibid.* 81.

[7] *Ibid.* 81 *b*.

there were in the abbey and granges of Waverley 70 monks and 120 conversi.[1] Considering the number of



monks required to allow of all these daughter houses

[1] *Ibid.*, 87. 1187. "Tempore hujus abbatis erant in domo Waverleiæ cxx. conversi, et monachi lxx. Carucæ autem arantes circitur xxx."

being colonized, the original buildings must from the very first have been inconvenient, and want of space alone necessitated a complete rebuilding on a much larger scale. The scheme of enlargement, though ultimately embracing the whole abbey, was carried on in sections, as the condition of the monks allowed.

The first work of alteration, presumably of about 1160, was the building of the stone frater, with the warming-house and kitchen on either side. The monks' dorter was lengthened southward, and a new aisled infirmary for the lay-brothers built to the west of the cellarer's building.[1] The earlier work of the brew-house and malt-house seems to be of the same date.

Following these works came the rebuilding of the chapter-house and parlour, and the erection of the great infirmary for the monks, together with its chapel, which was hallowed in 1201.[2] Of the same date was the guest-house next the church, and a western enlargement of the lay-brothers' infirmary.

During the abbacy of John, the third abbot of that name, who was formerly cellarer, the foundations of the new church were begun in 1203,[3] and the work was carried on slowly until its dedication in 1278.[4] During this lengthy period various alterations were effected in other buildings. A new cellarer's building, with a dorter above, was built southward of the cloister. A further extension southward of the monks' dorter was made, and their rere-dorter rebuilt. The northern part of the old cellarer's building, as far as the south wall of the cloister, was taken down, together with the nave of the first church, and the sites of both were thrown into the cloister. A large block of building, apparently for the poor-folk's guest-house and secular infirmary, was built to the west of the new church.

[1] It is interesting to note that the lay-brothers' infirmary at Fountains and Jervaulx are also earlier than that for the monks at those places.

[2] *Annales de Waverleia*, 90 *b*.

[3] *Ibid.* 91 *b*.

[4] *Ibid.* 180.

After the completion of the new church few new buildings were erected, but considerable alterations were made in various parts of the abbey. Towards the middle of the fourteenth century the monks' infirmary was divided up into various rooms, and a misericord with other chambers added on its west side.

During the fifteenth century very little work was done, excepting that the monks' infirmary was further subdivided, and fire-places inserted in various places. The lavatory in the cloister appears to have been reconstructed, and the levels of the floors of the cloister and chapter-house raised. A large barn, northward of the poor folk's guest-house, may also be of the fifteenth century, and perhaps the chapel of the gate-house was rebuilt at the same time.

Waverley was apparently always a poor foundation, and although it held lands in the counties of Surrey, Hants, Berks, Wilts, Sussex, and London, its annual revenue at the Suppression was only £174 : 8*s.* 3½*d.*[1] It therefore fell with the lesser monasteries of under £200 annual value, which were suppressed under an Act of Parliament, 27 Henry VIII (1535–6). The deed of surrender and commissioners' report are not known to exist; but the site was granted upon the 20th July, 1536, to Sir William FitzWilliam, K.G., treasurer of the King's Household,[2] afterwards created Earl of Southampton. He settled the estate upon himself and Lady Mabel his wife, with remainder to his half-brother, Sir Anthony Brown, and died without issue, 14th October, 1543. This Sir Anthony was created Viscount Montagu, and died in 1592.[3] By his representatives it was sold, in the early years of the next century, to the Coldham family, during whose ownership it is said that "the monastic remains underwent great dilapidations."[4] By them it was sold a hundred years later to William

[1] *Monasticon Anglicanum* (1825), v. 452. *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, 26 *Hen. VIII.*

[2] Rot. Pat. 28 Henry VIII. part 2. m. 19.

[3] *History of Surrey* (London, 1814), by Manning and Bray, iii. 152.

[4] *History of Surrey*, by E. W. Brayley, v. pt. i. 287.

Aislabie, brother of John Aislabie, who owned Fountains Abbey in Yorkshire, and after this, in 1725, it was again sold to a Mr. Child of Guildford for the sum of £13,000.[1] This owner apparently built a house on the site of the present mansion, in place of one which seemed up to that time to have been formed out of a portion of the monastic buildings. The new house is shown in the view of the abbey by S. and N. Buck, 1737, which is dedicated to Mr. Child. In it the ruins appear to be no more extensive than at present, though it is stated that they "were yet further mutilated when in the possession of Sir Robert Riche, who chiefly employed the materials in annexing wings to Waverley House,"[2] about 1771–86. In 1802 a plan of the ruins was made by John Carter,[3] where the remains are shown of precisely similar extent to what they were before the late excavations were begun.

THE PRECINCT.

The site of every monastic house was enclosed by a boundary wall or dyke, and within the precinct thus formed were placed all the buildings of the abbey. Even "stables for horses must be placed within the circuit of our abbeys, and no house for habitation may be built without the gate, unless for animals, on account of avoiding the dangers of souls. If there be any, let them fall; moreover, let all the gates of abbeys be without the bounds."[4]

[1] Dr. Adee of Guildford, MS. *Account of Waverley Abbey.* (1749.)

[2] *History of Surrey*, by E. W. Brayley, v. pt. i. 287.

[3] Published by Manning and Bray, *History of Surrey* (1814), iii. 152.

[4] Cistercian Statutes, Ch. I. Vide *Yorkshire Archæological Journal*, ix. 341. "Stabula equorum intra Abbatiarum ambitum collocentur, nec extra portam Monasterii aliqua domus ad habitandum construatur, nisi animalium tantum, propter cavenda pericula animarum. Si quæ fuerint, cadant; omnes autem portæ Abbatiarum sint extra terminos."

WAVERLEY ABBEY.
To Farnham
To Guildford
Supposed line of Precinct Wall
Waverley Mill
To Elstead
RIVER WEY
N
PLAN OF PRECINCT.
Scale of Feet
0 100 200 300 400 500 600 700 800 900 1000

At Waverley the whole of the boundaries of the precinct have been destroyed, but Aubrey, the Surrey historian,[1] writing about 1660, says:

This Abby is situated, though low, in a very good Air, and in as Romantick a Place as most I have seen. Here is a fine Rivulet runs under the House and fences one Side; but all the rest is wall'd. By the Lane are stately Rocks of Sand. Within the Walls of the Abbey are sixty acres: The Walls are very strong and chiefly of Ragg-Stones ten foot high. Here also remain Walls of a fair *Church* the Walls of the *Cloyster* and some Part of the Cloysters themselves, within and without are yet remaining: Within the Quadrangle of the Cloysters was a Pond, but now it is a Marsh. Here was also a handsom Chapel (now a stable) larger than that at *Trinity* College in *Oxford*. The Windows are of the same Fashion as the Chapel Windows at Priory S^t^ *Mari'es* in *Wiltshire*." There are no Escutcheons or Monuments remaining only in the Parlour and chamber over it (built not long since) are some Roundels of painted Glass, *viz.* S^t^ *Michael* fighting with the Devil, S^t^ *Dunstan* holding the *Devil* by the Nose with his Pincers; his Retorts, Crucibles and Chemical Instruments about him with several others; but so exactly drawn as if they were done from a good modern Print. They are of about eight Inches Diameter. The *Hall* was very spacious and noble with a Row of Pillers in the middle and vaulted over Head.

The very long Building with long narrow Windows, in all Probability, was the *Dormitory*. There are many more ruins.

Taking the river as one side of the 60 acres mentioned by Aubrey as the area of the precinct,[2] it is not difficult to trace the northern boundary which was then walled. It was along the line of an old road that formerly entered the grounds at the present lodge, passed in front of the house and out on the south side of the kitchen garden; the line being still marked by the remains of some old trees. It must be remembered that the lake, called "the Canal," in front of the present house, is a modern sheet of water. The 60-acre area is in the shape of a leg of mutton with the knuckle end towards the west, towards which end was placed the main block of buildings. These, in the first place, consisted of a square cloister with the church on the north, the chapter-house, parlour,

[1] John Aubrey, *Natural History and Antiquities of Surrey* (London. MDCCXVIII), iii. 360.

[2] The area within the precinct walls at Furness was about 60 acres, at Fountains 55 acres, at Beaulieu 58 acres, and at Boxley 23 acres.

and dorter on the east, the frater and kitchen on the south, and the cellarer's building with lay-brothers' dorter over on the west. Both monks and lay-brothers had rere-dorters, projecting east and west respectively of their dorters, over the drain. This group of buildings, as already stated, was very considerably altered and enlarged in later days, which will be described in detail later.

A watercourse from the river was carried through a drain that passed under the south ends of the main buildings. It was of the average width of $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet, with walled sides, and had originally an arched top.[1] The size for a main drain might be considered small, but as it was distinct from the river there was no occasion for the vast culverts of Fountains and Roche.[2]

Besides the chief group of buildings and those near to them, no traces of any others remain; it is said that in very dry weather foundations are indicated by the drying up of the turf to the east of the church, though the writer has never seen them.

The precinct of a Cistercian abbey was invariably entered through an outer and an inner gateway.

The outer gate, judging from those remaining elsewhere, was not an important structure, but consisted of a wide archway having folding doors and a small lodge for a porter, of which an excellent example still remains at Beaulieu. At Waverley the outer gate was apparently not far from the present entrance to the grounds, for in 1223 "a boy who lived at the gate fell into the water near the gate," and was carried under four stone bridges before he was pulled out,[3] which shows that the gate

[1] This drain has been used since the Suppression as a land drain, and repaired from time to time, when it has been covered by large stones, while westward of the claustral buildings a long length has been reconstructed in brick with an arched head.

[2] At Kirkstall the drain was of the same width as that at Waverley, but only arched where it passed under buildings. At Beaulieu it was about the same width and arched throughout its length.

[3] *Annales de Waverleia*, 114.

1223. "Puer quidam parvulus circiter octo sive septem annorum, ad portam Waverleiæ degens, cecidit in aquam portæ contiguam, die

must have been near the river, and no other site is suitable in that position for the entrance to the precinct. The outer gate gave entrance to an outer court in which at Clairvaulx were granaries, stables, workshops for various purposes, and other buildings, with extensive gardens, occupying an area of about 22 acres. In our English examples where the outer court can be traced it varied considerably, but was as at Fountains and Beaulieu of small extent, and contained little more than the mill, which may be due to the less settled condition of the country, and to the desire to put as much as possible within the greater security of the great gate.

The inner gate was a much more important structure than the outer, both in size and strength, and had in connection with it the gate-house chapel,[1] sometimes a distinct building as at Furness, Rievaulx, Merevale, Kirkstead and elsewhere, but sometimes the upper part of the gateway itself, as at Beaulieu and Whalley. At Meaux, where there was already a gate-house chapel, another was begun to be built over the gate-house, during the abbacy of Adam de Skyrne (1310–39), but was never finished,[2] and so much as was built was pulled down by his successor Hugh de Levern (1339–49). At Waverley, in spite of a diligent search for the foundations, it is only possible to conjecture the position of the great gate; but supposing the outer gate was where suggested, the inner gate must have been between it and the inner court of the abbey. This inner court, as will be afterwards shown, was westward of the church, and extended northwards as far as the present lake, so that the great gate must have been north of the church and close to, if not now actually covered by the lake.

Among the obligations to be performed by the abbot

inventionis sanctæ Crucis, quem mox unda rapuit, et fere in unius sagittæ cursum, videlicet, subtus quatuor pontes lapideos secum traxit; fluctuans igitur super aquam compertus est a quodam, et ab aquis ilico extractus, paululum aquæ quam absorbuerat, evomuit."

[1] The chapel at Furness was next the outer gate, but only 130 feet from the inner, with which it was connected by a pentise.

[2] *Chronica de Melsa* (Rolls Series, 1866), iii. 36.

and convent of Waverley, consequent upon the death of Nicholas of Ely, bishop of Winchester, was that upon the anniversary of his death (12th February), at the gate of Waverley each year, twenty shillings' worth of new shoes was to be distributed by the hands of the porter to decrepit widows and more indigent poor.[1] Another obligation was that "a mass be for ever specially celebrated, at Waverley in the chapel of the Blessed Mary at our gate of Waverley, for the soul of Dan Nicholas of Ely, late bishop of Winchester of good memory, whose body is buried in our said monastery, by one of the monks deputed each week by our precentor, or in his absence by the succentor."[2] The chapel at the gate is further referred to in a letter from Henry Wodelok, bishop of Winchester, to the abbot of Cisteaux, praying that the abbot of Waverley may have authority to allow Roger de Redenhall and Amice his wife, who had acquired a perpetual corrody in the monastery, and had built at their own expense certain houses outside the gate of the monastery, near the chapel of St. Mary at the convent gate, to end their days therein.[3] This gate-house chapel was apparently standing in Aubrey's time, and is that which he describes as "a handsom Chapel (now a stable) larger than that at *Trinity* College in *Oxford*. The Windows are of the same Fashion as the chapel Windows at Priory S^t^. *Mari'es* in *Wiltshire*." These windows, of which he gives a sketch in one of his manuscripts,[4] shows them to have been of fifteenth-century date. Buck's view shows a roofed building standing between the cloister buildings and the modern house, which may possibly have been this chapel.

Before leaving the consideration of the precinct, the stone bridges twice mentioned in the Annals should

[1] *Registrum Henrici Wodelok*, 138. Vide *Surrey Archæological Collections*, viii. 206.

[2] *Ibid.* 205.

[3] *Registrum Henrici Wodelok*, 193 *b*. Vide *Surrey Archæological Collections*, viii. 186.

[4] *Chronologia Architectonica*, now in the Bodleian Library.

be noticed. At Fountains there yet remain two such bridges, while at Clairvaulx there were at least eight, so that the four at Waverley are in no way remarkable. One of the bridges, apparently, stood a short distance east of the buildings, and its site is now covered by a brick dam of post-Suppression times. Another bridge must have been somewhere near the cloister buildings, for the conveyance of fuel for the various fires from the woods on the opposite bank of the river. A third must have been near the outer gate to carry the high road across the river. The fourth is not possible to locate, but was probably to the west of the precinct.

THE CHURCH.

The first stone church consisted of a square presbytery, transepts with one eastern chapel to each, and a long nave without aisles. When first the foundations were discovered the arrangement of having no aisles to the nave and only one chapel to each transept, together with its remarkably small scale, rendered this church without parallel among Cistercian churches in this country, but the writer has since been able to establish that the sister church of Tintern was in the first place of similar character and scale. At Corcomroe, in Ireland, exist extensive remains of a similar church, though of much later date.[1]

At Waverley the presbytery was 27 feet from east to west by 24 feet wide; its walls, which remained for some four feet above the original floor, were $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet in thickness and thickly coated with plaster internally. In the south wall was a recess 7 feet wide, but of uncertain depth; it had attached nook shafts with moulded bases to the jambs, and like that of similar character in a corresponding position at Kirkstall was

[1] *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, xxx. 299.

SOUTH-EAST PIER OF CROSSING.

WEST BASE OF SEDILIA.

face 18.

for the sedilia. Against the middle of the east wall was a block of masonry 7 feet long by $2\frac{3}{4}$ feet wide, that apparently formed the base of the original high altar. There were no pilaster buttresses to the external angles.

The crossing retained, in connection with the presbytery walls, its eastern responds, which were plain on plan, built of squared stones, with chamfered plinths. On the north side of the crossing was a screen wall two feet in thickness, against which the quire stalls were placed. There was a doorway of a single square member at its east end against the crossing pier. The corresponding screen on the south side had been destroyed.

The transepts had mostly been destroyed by the later work, except a fragmentary foundation of the north wall and a portion of the south wall, which remains to a considerable height through being encased in later work. Generally, in all aisleless churches, there was a doorway from the cloister into the transept for processional purposes, and in this case a later book cupboard seems to mark its position.

The chapel of the south transept had a plain barrel vault springing from a moulded string-course, which still remains on the south side. It was apparently originally separated from the transept by a solid screen or wall in which was a narrow doorway.

The chapel of the north transept was precisely similar, and there the south jamb of the small doorway in the wall between it and the transept remains against the crossing pier.

When the chapter-house was rebuilt the south chapel was lengthened, so that its east end was in line with that of the chapter-house, and had a bold, clasping buttress at the north-east angle. The vaulting was removed and an archway inserted in place of the screen-wall at its west end. The northern respond to carry this arch remains in connection with the crossing pier, and consists of a triple shaft having a moulded base resting on a semicircular and chamfered plinth.

The nave was 124 feet in length and of the same width as the presbytery. The west wall was 4 feet thick and remained to some three feet above the original floor, owing to its having been retained to form part of the west wall of the later cloister. There was a wide doorway of a single square member at its south end.[1] The south wall was represented by mere foundations, which were at so great a depth that they were only uncovered in places to ascertain their existence.

The north wall must have been destroyed when the wall of the later south aisle was built.

In connection with this first church there is only one reference in the Annals, besides that describing the removal of the convent to the new building which will be referred to later, that in 1214, after the Interdict, all the crosses in the church were touched with holy oil and blessed,[2] at the same time that the eastern altars of the new church were hallowed. This little church must have been from the first inadequate for the number of inmates of the abbey, but it had to satisfy their requirements for seventy years, and not until another twenty-eight years later was it abandoned and taken down. Owing to its small size no attempt was made to incorporate it to any extent with the later building. Accordingly the new church was placed so far to the north and east as to enable it to be half finished, with the new quire, before the old quire was interfered with.

The series of entries in the Annals concerning the new fabric is of such a nature as to enable the scheme of the building operations to be exactly followed. The complete plan is so accurately plotted that the whole must have been set out as far as possible at one time, but there are indications that the foundations were built as they were required for the superstructure.

"In the year 1203," say the Annals, "Dan William of Broadwater began to lay the foundations of the new

[1] A doorway in a similar position seems to have existed at Tintern in the original church.

[2] *Annales de Waverleia*, 105. ". . . . et omnes cruces ecclesiæ sancta unctione linivit, et benedixit."

church of the Blessed Mary of Waverley, upon the 19th of March."[1] Dan William was therefore evidently the architect for the new works. The first section embraced the five eastern chapels and two or three bays of the presbytery, which were completed sufficiently to allow the altars to be hallowed upon Thursday the 10th of July,[2] the Feast of the Seven Brothers, by Albin, bishop of Ferns, in Ireland, in the presence of Peter de Rupibus, bishop of Winchester. Whether these chapels were in any way connected with the old church is not clear, but it is possible that the south aisle of the new presbytery was sufficiently finished to serve as a temporary passage from the old church to the new, and a doorway inserted in the east wall of the old transept chapel.[3] The second section of the work included the completion of the presbytery with its north aisle and the building of the north transept. While this work was on hand William of Broadwater died, and was buried next the south wall of the new church which he had begun.[4] Though doubtless his loss was felt considerably, the work was carried on upon the exact lines he had laid down, since no difference is discernible in the details of the eastern and western parts of the structure, so far as can be judged from the scanty remains that exist. The work to the north transept had proceeded sufficiently to

[1] *Annales de Waverleia*, 91 *b*.

"MCCIII. Dominus Willelmus de Bradewatere cœpit jacere fundamentum novæ ecclesiæ beatæ Mariæ de Waverleia, xiv. kal. Aprilis, feria quarta."

[2] *Ibid.* 105.

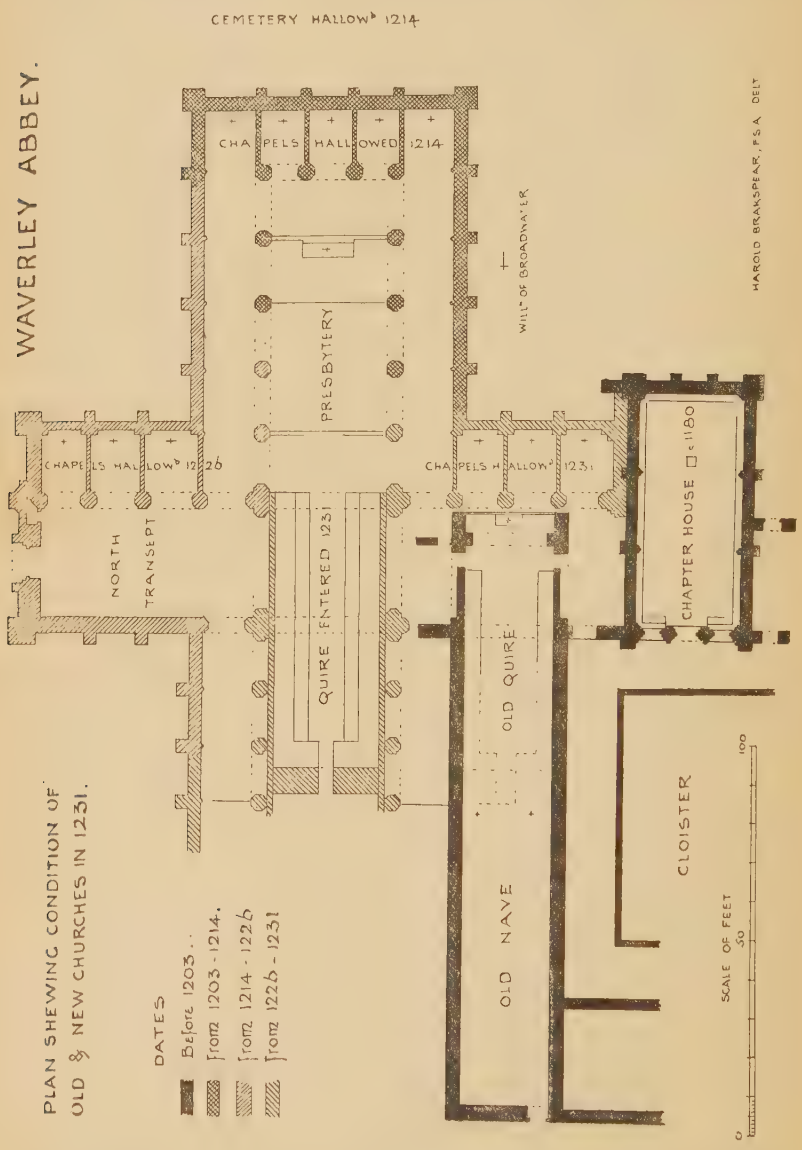
1214. "Sexto id Julii, feria v., in festo septem fratrum, dedicata sunt quinque altaria a domino Albino episcopo Fernensi, in præsentia domini P. episcopi Wintoniensi."

[3] That this was actually done is borne out by the fact, that the next section of the work was considerably greater than the first, and yet took the same time to accomplish, unless this aisle was part of the first section.

[4] *Annales de Waverleia*, 113.

"MCCXXII. Obiit piæ memoriæ Willelmus rector ecclesiæ de Bradewatere, qui inchoavit novam ecclesiam de Waverleia, vicesimo viz. anno postquam inchoata fuerat, et sepultus est foris juxta murum australem ejusdem ecclesiæ."

allow two altars of its eastern chapels to be hallowed on 30th January, 1226, and one on the day following, by



John, bishop of Ardferth, in the presence of the bishop

FROM THE NORTH.

FROM THE SOUTH.

face 23.

of Winchester.[1] To this point the new work was executed upon new ground, and no part of the old church need have been disturbed, except the northern chapel already mentioned; but the third section, embracing the monks' quire and the chapels of the south transept, necessitated the removal of the east end of the first presbytery. The old church being still required for daily use, for which an altar was necessary, a timber partition was therefore put across the presbytery at 22 feet from the east end, upon a slight stone foundation, with a small altar $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet by $1\frac{1}{2}$ foot against it; the eastern part of the old presbytery was then removed to make way for the new transept chapels, which were at once put in hand. Upon the 16th of April, 1231, the king ordered the constable of Windsor to allow the abbot of Waverley to cut timber in his wood of Wanborough for the works to the new church.[2] This wood was probably for the roofs of the south transept chapels, which were finished sufficiently for dedication upon the 11th of June in the same year. The ceremony was performed by the same bishop and in the same manner as those of the north transept, namely, two upon St. Barnabas' day and one upon the day following.[3] The builders of the new work did not trust to the old walls for the foundations of the higher parts, but removed a portion bodily and inserted new blocks of foundation in their place; but the aisle walls being low and consequently of no great weight, the lower part of the old presbytery walls

[1] *Ibid*, 116.

1226. "Tertio kal. Februarii, sexta feria, dedicata sunt altaria duo, in crastino subsequenti, viz. Sabbato, unum in aquilonali cruce ecclesiæ nostræ, a domino Johanne episcopo, tunc vicario domini P. Wintoniensis, in præsentia ejusdem Wintoniensis."

[2] Rot. Claus. 15 Hen. III. m. 14.

"Mandatum est constabulario Windles' quod permittat abbatem de Waverle capere in bosco suo de Wanebefg meremium ad operationem ecclesie sue de Waverle sine vasto. Teste rege apud Westmonasterium xvj die Aprilis. Per S. de Sudgrave."

[3] *Annales de Waverleia*, 122 *b*.

1231. "In die Sancti Barnabæ consecrata sunt duo altaria, in crastino vero unum in Australi cruce ecclesiæ nostræ, a domino Johanne episcopo, tunc temporis domini Wintoniensis vicario."

were allowed to remain as foundation for them. The new quire was being carried on at the same time as the transept chapels and was ready for occupation later in the same year, when "upon the feast of St. Thomas the Apostle, thirty years after the new church was begun by William of Broadwater, of good memory, the monks entered their new church from the old first church with solemn procession and great devotion."[1]

After this event the fourth and last section would be entered upon. This work, which of course necessitated the removal of the remainder of the old church, included the completion of the south transept and the gradual building of the nave. This latter progressed very slowly, and in 1270 the King again gave wood towards the work,[2] but it was not until 1278, "upon St. Matthew's day, that the church of Waverley was hallowed in honour of the glorious Virgin Mary, mother of God, by Dan Nicholas of Ely, bishop of Winchester."[3]

The time occupied in the building seems excessive, but was due in a great measure to the poverty of the convent. The church of the royal foundation of Beaulieu took forty-three years to complete;[4] but at Hayles, where money was more readily obtained, the equally great church was finished enough to allow thirteen altars to be hallowed within five years of its foundation,[5] though possibly the nave was not finished till later.

The new church at Waverley was 291 feet long internally, and 153 feet across the transepts. It consisted

[1] *Annales de Waverleia*, 123.

1231. "Monachi de Waurleia intraverunt in novam ecclesiam de prima veteri ecclesia, cum solemni processione et magnæ devotionis gaudio, in festo Sancti Thomæ Apostoli, anno xxx. ab inchoatione novæ ecclesiæ, cujus inceptor fuit bonæ memoriæ Willelmus de Bradewatere."

[2] Rot. Claus. 54 Hen. III.

[3] *Ibid.* 180.

1278. "Item hoc anno die Sancti Mathæi apostoli evangelistæ, quæ tunc feria iv., erat dedicata est ecclesia de Waverle in honore gloriosæ Virginis Dei genitricis Mariæ, a domino Nicholao de Hely Wintoniensi episcopo."

[4] *Annales de Waverleia*, 92 and 141*b*.

[5] *Ibid.* 142 and 145.

of a presbytery with aisles and five eastern chapels, north and south transepts, each with three eastern chapels, a nave with aisles, and probably a low tower over the crossing.

Except the south transept, the south and west walls of which remain to a considerable height, only a few detached fragments of the church exist above ground, but excavation has revealed the complete ground plan. The main arcades and crossing piers were carried on detached blocks of foundation, and not upon sleeper walls as at the contemporary churches of Beaulieu and Hayles. Most of these blocks remained to their full height, which was just beneath the finished floor level, and retained the exact shape of the base of the piers impressed upon the mortar bed on which they were set. The solid walls of the presbytery were carried, between the buttresses, on massive construction arches, below the ground level; the buttresses alone being carried down as foundations. The reason of this peculiar construction was apparently to give free passage for the spring water with which the ground is saturated.

The presbytery has entirely disappeared, but it was divided into five bays, and was $31\frac{1}{2}$ feet in width between the main walls. The east end was carried on three arches similar to those yet remaining at Dore. The piers of the arcades, where the mortar impress was found, were octagonal on plan, except the third on the south side. This appeared to be circular, but the impress, in this case, was so slight that it cannot definitely be said to have been so, especially as round and octagon columns, which it implies, would have been so unusual in a church of this size.[1] What the character of the

[1] Quite recently a fragment of a base, of the same section as that of the respond in the north aisle of the nave, was found in cutting down a tree some half-mile to the south of the abbey. It belonged to a circular column, 3 feet 4 inches in diameter, or 4 feet 2 inches in diameter of the bed of the base, which is the same as the width of the other impresses found in the mortar, and so conclusively proves that some part of the church, at any rate, had alternate round and octagonal piers.

architectural detail was is impossible to say, as scarcely a single moulded stone was found in the excavations. The extent of the first section of the work is shown by a break in the line of the foundations of the piers at the third bay from the east, which is conspicuously marked on the south side. The two western bays on the south side were filled in later with thick walls, perhaps as foundation for supports to the central tower.

In the fourth bay on the north side, between the main piers, was an interment which had been previously disturbed. It had a coffin, like all the others found, built of small squared stones and not cut out of a single block in the usual manner. In the middle of the presbytery was another coffin that had been exposed for a number of years, but is said to be in its original position.[1] It was probably in the presbytery that in 1238[2] were buried the heart and bowels of Peter de Rupibus, who was bishop of Winchester from the time the new church of Waverley was begun. He apparently took considerable interest in the monastery, and was present at two of the dedications in connection with the new work that occurred during his episcopate. It is stated that "in digging amongst the ruins when *Mr. Child* was the owner, the heart was found preserved in spirits, and is now in the possession of *John Martyr*, Esq^r., of *Guildford*, whose father had it from *Mr. Child*."[3]

Across the east front of the presbytery was an aisle similar to those at the sides, but divided by perpent walls into five chapels. The foundations of these walls

[1] Slightly to the east of this used to stand an octagonal sundial, erected apparently early in the last century. It was removed to the grounds of the present house two years ago, as being a more suitable place for it than the site of an abbey church.

[2] *Annales de Waverleia*, 131 *b*.

1238. "Obiit Petrus de Rupibus episcopus Wintoniensis in oppidulo suo de Farnham, cujus cor cum visceribus sepultum est in ecclesia Beatæ Mariæ de Waverleia. Corpus vero ipsius delatum est Wintoniam, ibique in basilica sedis suæ honorifice tumulatum."

[3] Manning and Bray, *History of Surrey* (London, 1814), iii. 144, note 5.

Mr. Child owned this property from 1725 to 1747.

were carried on arches like those of the other walls of the presbytery aisles. A small piece of the east wall, at its south end, remains above the floor level, but no vestiges of the altars or any interments were found.

Of the north aisle there remains, at the vaulting shaft in line with the main east end, a piece of its north wall to a considerable height. On it is a fragment of the plinth, consisting of two chamfered members that returned round the buttresses, which on this side were square on plan with re-entering quoins. About five feet above the plinth is a piece of the moulded string-course that ran beneath the aisle windows. There is also a similar string-course, nine inches lower, internally. West of this block the wall remains for two bays to some six inches above the floor level, and shows the places for the tails of the bases of the vaulting shafts.

The south aisle has been entirely destroyed above the floor level, except the sub-base of the vaulting shaft opposite the main east end, which still remains, with a fragment of the wall to the east. This latter was recessed some fifteen inches from the general wall face. Externally, opposite the next vaulting shaft to the west and above the general foundations, is a projecting piece of rubble masonry, semi-circular on plan, which may have been a secondary foundation to the buttress or the lower part of the buttress itself. In the west bay of this aisle was a fragment of the original paving of square tiles set diagonally, with bands of narrow tiles between, and at the intersections small square tiles ornamented with roses.

Of the crossing, like the presbytery, there are no remains above ground; but the bases of the two southern piers[1] have left their impress upon the mortar bed of the foundations. From the shape of the bases it is clear that the east and west arches were carried upon corbels, and the north and south arches upon responds.

[1] The foundations of the northern piers had been covered up before this impression of the bases upon the mortar was noticed. The foundation of the north-east pier was corbelled out on the north side to take the respond of the transept arcade.

The tower over the crossing was completed, or nearly so, in 1248, as the stone parapet at the top is mentioned in connection with a supposed miracle of a youth falling over it to the ground and sustaining no injury.[1] The tower itself, according to rule, would be of no great height. In the early years of the Order this injunction was literally carried out, as may be seen by the examples yet remaining at Buildwas and the original part of that at Kirkstall, which rise little above the apex of the main roofs, while even in the thirteenth century the tower of Calder was no higher. Towards the end of the fourteenth century laxities crept into the Cistercian rule, as into that of other orders, and the tendency of the time was to raise the old towers, as at Kirkstall. Mr. Hope has shown that this was also done at Fountains and Furness,[2] where the old piers gave way in consequence of the extra weight, and had to be underbuilt with heavy buttresses. The foundations already referred to between the piers on the south side the presbytery at Waverley may indicate that the same thing was done here.

The north transept was four bays long, and had three eastern chapels.

The east wall had arches into the three chapels and north aisle of the presbytery, but has entirely gone above the foundations, with the exception of one stone of the plinth of the northern respond in connection with the north wall of the chapel. The chapels have also been destroyed above their foundations, except the north wall of the northernmost, which stands to a considerable height, but is quite blank. In connection with it is a fragment of the east wall, in which appear to have been wide arched recesses to contain the altars in each chapel. In the angle formed by the north and east walls is the

[1] *Annales de Waverleia*, 143.

1248. "Quidam adolescens a summitate turris ecclesiæ nostræ, scilicet a tabulatu lapideo, lapsu miserabili usque ad terram, absque tamen alicujus membri fractione, præcipitando cecidit . . . ."

[2] *Yorkshire Archæological Journal*, xv. 287; *Cumberland and Westmorland Archæological Society's Transactions*, xvi. 27.

lower part of an attached circular vaulting shaft, with moulded base and plain chamfered sub-base. The chapels were divided from each other by thin walls, but of uncertain height.

The north wall of the transept remains in places to about four feet above the floor level, and had in the middle a doorway of at least three members, flanked externally by small buttresses. The western jamb has been destroyed, but the eastern remains in part, and shows that the general plinth of the church was taken round each member of the jamb. In the north-east corner is the lower part of a vice with a small doorway, of a single chamfered member, from the church.

The west wall of the transept remains to some six feet in height throughout, and is divided externally by buttresses. In it was an arch opening into the north aisle of the nave, carried on half-octagonal responds, of which the northern still has its base, and one stone above. Externally the whole of the freestone has been stripped from the remaining walls; but the foundations show that each bay was divided by a buttress, and that there were deep clasping buttresses at the angles.

The south transept, when completed, was practically identical with that on the north; but, as already shown, it was built in two distinct parts, owing to the old church standing upon a portion of its site.

The east wall is destroyed, and a large tree prevented the site of the southern respond of the arcade being excavated.

The chapels have also been destroyed, except as regards the south wall of the southernmost and a fragment of the east wall in connection with it. This south wall was recessed, and seems to have been carried by an arch of a single chamfered member. Towards the east end are the remains of apparently a double piscina, with round arched head. On the wall below is a small portion of the original plastering, with remains of the ugly "mason" lining with which the Cistercians usually covered their buildings internally. The east wall was arranged like that of the north transept with recesses

for the altars in the chapels. In the angle between the east and south walls are the remains of a vaulting shaft, but the base is merely a plain splay and not moulded.

The south wall of the south transept remains to a considerable height, and had in the lower part two wall arches similar to those in the corresponding position at Netley. These arches were of two members and slightly pointed, but all the freestone has been removed except the lowest course of the western respond, which shows wide chamfers to each member, finished with curious volute-like stops. A small fragment of the tile pavement remained in position next to this respond.

The west wall also remains to a considerable height, but the first bay next the crossing, which contained the arch into the nave aisle, has gone. The other three bays had each a tall, single lancet window, with wide internal splays, resting on a string-course about six feet above the floor level. The lower part of these windows, for some seven feet above the string-course, was built solid, owing to the abutment of the cloister on the other side. Externally, the jambs have been stripped of their freestone dressings.

The nave was divided into ten bays, of which the three easternmost, containing the quire, must have been nearly completed in 1231; but the remainder, as already shown, were not finished for some forty-seven years later.

The north and south walls were carried on arcades which have entirely gone above the foundations.

The southern half of the west wall remains to some six feet in height, and retains a portion of the south jamb of the west doorway. This doorway was of at least four members. The innermost was square with a hollow chamfer, the next was quite plain, the third was carried on a detached column with marble base, which still exists; and the fourth was probably the same. The doorway, like that in the north transept, was apparently flanked by small buttresses, and the plinth of the church was similarly taken round each member. Internally, the

NORTH RESPOND OF ARCH AT EAST END OF NORTH AISLE OF NAVE.

STOPS OF WALL-ARCHES IN SOUTH-WEST ANGLE OF SOUTH TRANSEPT.

face 30.

reveal is slightly splayed, and has an attached column with moulded base and side hollows to the angle.

On the north side of the nave, in the seventh bay from the east, was found a stone-built coffin projecting inside the line of the main wall. It is possible that this contained the bones of bishop Nicholas of Ely, who was a great benefactor towards the completion of the nave, and was buried in the church of St. Mary of Waverley, in 1280.

On the south side of the nave, in the fourth and fifth bays, were remains of considerable portions of the tile paving, but so injured, apparently by fire, as to be almost entirely disintegrated. Mr. Hope has suggested that this was due to the fires for melting the lead from the roof being made upon the floor, with some temporary support for the melting pots, and perhaps, as at Roche,[1] the carved work of the stalls was taken for fuel for the fires.

The north aisle has been destroyed above the foundations, excepting the two eastern bays of the north wall, which remain to some seven feet above the floor level. In it are two circular vaulting columns with plain chamfered bases and sub-bases. Five feet above the bases are the remains of a moulded string-course that ran under the aisle windows. Against these two bays and extending two bays further westward, was an added bench table, which covered the bases of the vaulting shafts. Externally, the bays were separated by buttresses that appear from the foundations to have been narrower and deeper than those of the presbytery aisles, showing a slight change in the later work.

The south aisle also has been mostly destroyed, except its west end and the two western bays of the south wall, which remain to about eight feet in height. Internally, each bay was divided by vaulting shafts similar to those in the north aisle, and, except in the first and ninth bays, was recessed from the wall line. These recesses

[1] J. H. Aveling, *History of Roche Abbey* (London and Worksop, 1870), 92.

were apparently covered by arches of a single chamfered member. The two unrecessed bays contained doorways from the cloister and the passage exterior to the west wall of the cloister respectively.

The doorway in the first bay retains the bases of its external eastern jamb and the lower part of both the inner jambs. The outer part consisted of four members, of which the three outer were carried on detached nook shafts supported on marble bases, and the innermost was similar, but the shafts were attached to the jamb. The angles of the jambs between the nook shafts had bold beads. Internally, the jambs were splayed, and upon the inner angles were small columns with moulded bases similar to the western entrance of the nave. Before the floor of the cloister was raised in the fifteenth century this doorway was approached by a flight of steps, of which the lowest, with a rounded south-west angle, was found in position.

The doorway in the ninth bay had three plain chamfered members, of which the outermost was much deeper than the rest. The inner jambs were slightly splayed, but had no moulding at the angles. Only the lower courses of the jambs remain, but the wall of the aisle exists high enough to retain part of the core of the arch, which was semicircular, with a relieving arch over on the south side, and there was a draw bar-hole in the east jamb. One of the stones of the west jamb had a portion of a "Nine Men's Morris" board clearly but roughly cut upon its top surface, showing that the game was played by the thirteenth-century masons in their spare time.[1] This doorway was also approached by a flight of steps, of which the lowest was found, rounded at the angle like that in the cloister.

The west wall was recessed internally, similarly to the side bays, and at the north end of the recess was a small doorway, of a single chamfered member, that led to a vice in the south-west angle of the nave.

[1] This stone has unfortunately been left exposed to the weather, and has now been nearly destroyed.

The external face of the remaining part of the south aisle and transept walls has been repaired, the holes filled in with brick and other material, and both doorways and the western entrance of the nave walled up, apparently to grow fruit trees upon, at a period considerably after the Suppression.

The evidences of the internal arrangements of the church brought to light by excavation have been slight, but sufficient to show the main features.

The high altar was in line with the first pair of piers from the main east end, to enable the eastern bay to be left clear for a procession path in front of the eastern chapels.[1] A foundation, 15 feet by $3\frac{1}{4}$ feet, was found in this position, but as its eastern edge was covered for five inches by the tile flooring, it was probably the base of the reredos, and not that of the altar itself. In continuation of it, north and south across the presbytery, was no doubt a screen, with doorways in it on either side the altar. The altar may have been a stone slab, supported on pillars, which would account for there being no foundation for it.

It is uncertain if the aisles were separated from the presbytery by stone walls, as at Fountains and Tintern, or were merely divided by wooden screens, as appears to have been the original arrangement at Hayles.

The presbytery steps would be a bay east of the crossing, with the upper entrances to the quire immediately to the west.

The quire occupied the crossing and two and a-half bays of the nave and, from the foundations of the northern part, which alone were found, had a double rank of seats upon both sides, with the upper row returned at the west end. There was a stone wall at the back of the stalls under the arcade arches. The west end of the quire was formed by a stone wall seven feet in thickness, which supported the *pulpitum*, or loft,

[1] At Dore, and originally at Hayles, where there were two aisles eastward of the main east end, of which the easternmost was divided into chapels and the other used as a procession path, the high altar was placed immediately in front of the columns carrying the east end.

from which the Epistle and Gospel were sung on Sundays and holydays. There was a doorway in the middle of this wall and probably a small altar on each side in the nave.

As the part of the church eastward of the *pulpitum* was for the use of the monks, so that westward was for the lay-brothers, and the nave formed their quire. This conclusion was arrived at some years ago by Mr. Hope,[1] who has also pointed out that the lay-brothers' stalls were placed against the solid screen walls beneath the arcades of the nave of Cistercian churches. The aisles therefore served merely as passages. Towards the middle of the fourteenth century, when the lay-brothers had become considerably reduced in numbers, if not altogether done away with, the screen walls were generally removed and the aisles divided up into chapels, as at Fountains, Rievaulx, and Hayles. At Waverley, there was nothing found to prove the existence of these walls at any time, but the position of the coffin on the north side indicates that they existed when it was placed there, since the natural position for such a burial was in the middle of the space under the arch.

In connection with the church the bells may be mentioned, which with the Cistercians formed the subject of various orders and restrictions. They were not to be in stone towers or in wooden ones of any great height,[2] which seems to imply that the belfry was a wooden house surmounting the lantern over the crossing. The bells were not to be too large for one man to ring, and appear to have been originally only two in number; namely, the greater bell, which was to be rung at all offices and at all hours at which the lay-brothers had to be present, between lauds and prime in winter, at *mixtum*, before food and after, after the noonday sleep in summer, at *biberes*, and at masses; and the smaller bell, which was rung at prime, terce, sext, nones, compline, chapter, and collation.[3]

[1] *Yorkshire Archæological Journal*, xv. 310.

[2] Cistercian Statutes, ch. I. Vide *Yorkshire Archæological Journal*, ix. 240.

[3] *Ibid.* ix. 340.

Down to the year 1218 Waverley possessed only one bell, but in that year by the help of the abbot the greater bell was obtained.[1] In 1239, in the time of Abbot Giffard, a greater bell is again said to have been obtained, and to have been rung for the first time on Easter Day,[2] but whether a re-casting of the old bell is meant, or that another entirely new one was made, is not clear. If any and what other bells were added to these before the Suppression is not known.

THE CLOISTER.

The cloister may be called the centre of the monastery, and was a square court surrounded by the buildings necessary for the daily use of the convent. Covered alleys round the four sides formed passages of communication with all these buildings, and the alley next the church was usually the place where the inmates studied during their leisure time.

The buildings surrounding the cloister of a Cistercian house are enumerated in order in the direction for the Sunday procession in the *Consuetudines*,[3] and were the

[1] *Annales de Waverleia*, 110.

1219. "Dominus Adam i. abbas septimus Waverleiæ, relicta pastorali cura, cessit; cujus consilio et auxilio major campana, anno precedenti, comparata est. Nunquam enim, usque ad tempus illud, in prædicta domo nisi una tantummodo habebatur."

[2] *Ibid.* 133.

1239. "Hoc anno comparata est major campana domus nostræ, tempore domini Giffardi abbatis, cœpitque pulsari primum ad horas, in die sancto Paschæ, cujus nomen his versibus sciri potest, qui in eadem campana scribuntur.

"Dicor nomine quo tu, Virgo, domestice Christi,
Sum dominæ præco cujus tutela fuisti."

[3] *Nomasticon Cisterciense* (Solesme, 1892), 133.

"Interim vero minister recipiat aquam in quolibet vase de urceolo in quo est aqua benedicta, et habens sparsorium aliud, claustrum aspergat et officinas, scilicet capitulum, auditorium, dormitorium, et dormitorii necessaria, calefactorium, refectorium, coquinam, cellarium."

chapter-house, parlour, dorter, and rere-dorter, warming-house, frater, kitchen, and the cellarer's building, each of which had to be visited in turn and sprinkled with holy water.

The first cloister at Waverley was on the south side of the church, and was only about 96 feet square. It is possible that the surrounding buildings, with the exception of the church, were at first constructed with wood; but if so they soon gave place to others of stone, the ruins of which will be described in their turn.

The east alley, and part of the south, if not the remainder, were rebuilt at the time the chapter-house was altered, about 1180. They were 12 feet wide and had wooden roofs, supported towards the court upon open arcades resting on a dwarf wall. The wall had a chamfered edge externally, with a roll edge for a seat internally, and was found to the whole of its length on the east side, with a short return on the south. The arcade had coupled circular columns and single octagonal ones alternately, with Purbeck marble bases, of which two of each kind remained towards the south-east corner. The nature of the arcade itself is not clear, as no fragment of it was found, but, judging from the alternate pattern of the bases, it was probably somewhat different from the usual series of trefoiled arches.

After 1231, when the monks had entered their new quire, the nave of the old church was pulled down and the site thrown into the cloister. The northern part of the cellarer's first building was also taken down to enlarge the cloister area westward. This enlarged cloister was 120 feet from north to south, by 124 feet from east to west, and so, though two buildings had been removed to enlarge its area, it still remained almost square. The alleys were continued round the enlarged space, but as only one base of a coupled column of the later work remained near the south-west angle, it is impossible to say if the later arcades were similar to the earlier. The dwarf wall had a chamfer internally instead of the roll-edged seat.

In the fifteenth century the cloister floor was raised

THE CHAPTER HOUSE.

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some three feet, apparently to avoid the annoyance of frequent floods, and the open arcades were partly blocked up with solid walls. The floor was laid with flat bricks, in alternate cross rows of headers and stretchers, and a large piece of it remained opposite the parlour door.

The north side of the cloister was formed by the south wall of the nave of the church, at the east end of which was the procession door already described. The rest of the wall was quite plain and unbroken by buttresses, but had along its full length a stone seat.

The east side was covered for forty feet by the south transept. In the wall of this, next the procession doorway, are the mutilated remains of a pointed arched niche for a lamp. Further southward is a large round-headed recess of a similar character to those in a corresponding position at Netley, Beaulieu, Fountains, and Kirkstall; which was apparently the cupboard (*armarium commune minor*) for the reception of books upon canon and civil law[1] for use in the cloister. Further southward still was a small cupboard, that may have held a lamp, with a rebate for a wooden door filled with horn or glass.

Generally in early Cistercian houses was a narrow passage, separating the south transept from the chapter-house, which led from the cloister to the cemetery. Such a passage existed at Waverley in the first place, and was $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide; but it was done away with when the new chapter-house was built, which included its site.[2]

THE CHAPTER-HOUSE.

The chapter-house (*capitulum*) was so called from a chapter of the Rule of St. Benedict being read in it daily throughout the year, for which purpose the whole convent met after prime.

[1] Cistercian Statutes, Ch. I. Vide *Yorkshire Archæological Journal*, ix. 340.

[2] A similar change was effected at Calder, and at Furness its site was taken to enlarge the transept.

The first stone chapter-house at Waverley formed part of the original scheme of buildings. It was 32 feet from east to west by 20 feet wide,[1] and was separated from the church by the narrow passage just referred to. Being one of the chief buildings of the abbey and required daily, it was apparently not destroyed until the new apartment was almost completed around it.

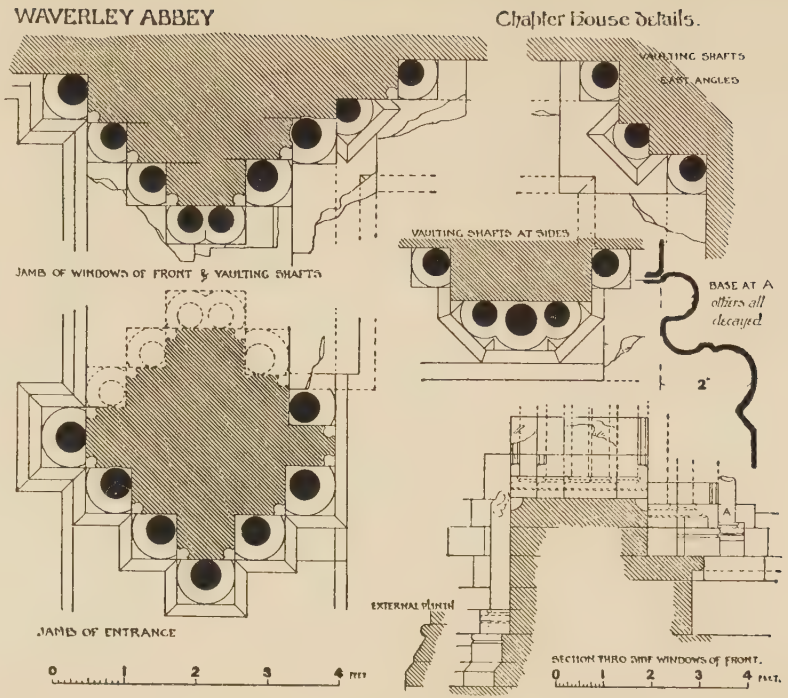
This new chapter-house was 62 feet long by 27 feet wide, and directly adjoined the south transept of the church. The side walls still stand to almost their original height, but have been nearly stripped of the worked stone facings. The west end remains to about four feet above the original floor level, but the east end has been destroyed to the foundations. The new chapter-house is all of one date, and was probably finished or nearly so in 1193, for in October of that year William Maudit was buried in the cloister at its entrance,[2] which was not likely to have occurred had the building been actually in progress, and the character of the work precludes it from being any later. It was vaulted in one span and divided into three bays; but unlike the usual chapter-houses of the Order had no chambers above.[3]

The west end consisted of three arches flanked by bold square buttresses projecting into the cloister. The middle arch formed the entrance, and had four orders to the cloister with three to the chapter-house, resting on marble jamb shafts and bases. The side arches were similar, but had sills four feet above the floor upon which the jamb shafts of all but the outer members rested. The innermost member was carried on coupled

[1] The north-east angle has been traced, but the excavation was not continued further owing to the great amount of water that was met with in the soil.

[2] *Annales de Waverleia*, 89.
1194. "Obiit Willelmus Maldut vi. non. Octobris, et sepultus est ante ostium capituli apud Waverleiam."

[3] This arrangement was evidently due to the abnormal position of the dorter on the ground floor, from which it was impossible to obtain direct communication with the church over the chapter-house in the usual way.


WAVERLEY ABBEY
Chapter House details.
VAULTING SHAFTS
EAST ANGLES
VAULTING SHAFTS AT SIDES
JAMB OF WINDOWS OF FRONT & VAULTING SHAFTS
BASE AT A
others all
decayed
2'
JAMB OF ENTRANCE
EXTERNAL PLINTH
A
0 1 2 3 4 FEET
SECTION THRO SIDE WINDOWS OF FRONT.
0 1 2 3 4 FEET.

SOUTH SIDE OF ENTRANCE.

NORTH-WEST ANGLE OF ROOM.

face 39.

columns, and the openings themselves were probably subdivided.

The chapter-house was surrounded by wide stone seats, with a bold round nosing, and raised above the floor level upon a low platform.

The vaulting shafts rested upon the seats. Those in the angles had single marble columns on marble bases, and square stone sub-bases set lineable with the vaulting ribs they supported. The others had three marble columns with marble bases, also set for each to take a single rib of the vault, and supported on semi-octagonal stone sub-bases.

The walls between the vaulting shafts were in the first place intended to have been panelled with seven arches in each bay carried on marble columns, but during the execution of the work the idea was abandoned. This is shown by the spaces for the tails of the bases on the north side, which was the earlier, being built in flush with the wall face, and that no such spaces exist on the south side. Only the end columns next the vaulting shafts were allowed to remain, and these seem to have been carried up to take the wall ribs of the vault. A continuous string-course 5 inches deep ran along both side walls at $6\frac{1}{4}$ feet above the seats.

Externally, the bays on the south side are divided by square buttresses, and the south-east angle has a large clasping buttress. The walls are finished by a base course, having two sets-off with a roll moulding above, which is continued round the buttresses. At nine feet above this base course spring plain semi-circular wall arches, of which there were apparently two in the eastern bay, and one in the portion of the middle bay beyond the eastern range. Over the arches is a string-course weathering for a pentise that will be noticed later.

The east end was divided into three compartments by square buttresses, and had apparently a tall lancet window in each. A fragment of the inner arch moulding of the southernmost still remains next to the south

wall. At the north end of the east front was a large buttress of similar width to the clasping buttress at the south angle, but the wall was continued to form the east end of the enlarged south chapel of the first church already described. The north wall of the chapter-house, although always an internal one, was treated precisely similarly to the south, having square buttresses dividing the bays; but the wall arches were of the full width of the space between the buttresses, and in all three bays. It is not clear if the base course was also continued, as Broadwater's church covers the lower part of the wall, and it is only owing to portions of the upper part of this work having been destroyed that the original treatment can be seen. Where the chapter-house wall joins the main east wall of the original transept are re-entering quoins to the upper part.

At the same time as the floor of the cloister was raised, that of the chapter-house was treated similarly, and the stone seats were taken up and refixed at a higher level on both sides.

In the middle of the floor, at fifteen feet from the east wall, was the lectern (*analogium*), or pulpit, as it was called at Croxden, from which the martyrology and the Rule were read daily. The original stone support was 26 inches square, and had a chamfer on the east side that returned for 18 inches at the ends. The pedestal was afterwards enlarged, to 5 feet from north to south by 4 feet wide, probably when the floor was raised.

The chapter-house was usually the burial place for the superiors of a monastery, but at Waverley, owing evidently to the dampness of the site, the abbots were interred elsewhere, though in no case is the place of burial recorded. In the middle of the western bay was found a stone coffin, which, without doubt, contained the remains of William, abbot of Ford, who died at Waverley in 1262, and was buried in the chapter-house.[1]

[1] *Annales de Waverleia*, 151.

1262. "Obiit dominus Willelmus abbas de Forda apud Waverleyam, ibidemque in capitulo sepultus est."

WALL ARCH OUTSIDE CHAPTER HOUSE.

INTERIOR OF PARLOUR

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In the cloister, outside the chapter-house, was found a series of six coffins, of which the southernmost was of stone, and the rest of wood, the latter being in remarkably perfect preservation. That opposite the entrance would contain the remains of William Maudit, already referred to, who was buried in that position, but neither it or any of the others contained anything by which their occupants could be identified.

THE PARLOUR.

Next the chapter-house southward is the parlour (*auditorium juxta capitulum*), where such talking as was only absolutely necessary was allowed between the monks.

The existing building is mostly of the same date as the later chapter-house, but apparently takes the place of a passage of the first work leading to the infirmary. The lower part of the south wall belongs to this earlier work.

The later parlour was a passage-room 27 feet long by 10 feet wide, and entered from the cloister by an archway of a single member with moulded angles to the jambs; these remain to some three feet in height. At the east end was a doorway of a single member with plain rounded jambs remaining to the same height as those to the western entrance, though the wall above remains and shows the doorway had a semi-circular head. The north wall, despite it being an interior one, has the same double chamfered plinth and boldly projecting buttress as the exterior of the chapter-house.[1] The parlour was covered by a waggon vault, which still remains over all but the west end. It was divided into four bays with square cross ribs resting on simple corbels, and has a moulded string-course at the springing.

[1] The same feature occurs in the warming-house and kitchen at Fountains, where the exterior plinth of the contemporary frater is continued in those buildings.

Beneath the floor is a considerable length of the lead piping that conveyed water from the conduit in the infirmary to the lavatory in the cloister. The piping was of the usual welded form of 2½-inch bore, in about 10 feet lengths, and joined together with bosses of lead, 2½ inches each way, which had a diagonal cross marked on the top.

From the parlour entrance as far as the south-east angle of the cloister the work is mostly of the first work, but altered by various insertions of the same date as the rebuilding of the chapter-house. Immediately to the south of the parlour the wall has been rebuilt for about eight feet in length, evidently as blocking for a removed doorway. Slightly to the south of this is the sill of an inserted lamp niche with a rebate for a horn or glazed shutter. At twenty-six feet from the parlour entrance is another break in the old wall 9 feet wide, in which is inserted a doorway of three members having jamb shafts to the two outer. Inside this doorway is an irregularly-shaped lobby having a flight of four wide and shallow steps on the south side leading up to the dorter. On the north side are three winding steps with chamfered edges, the newel of which has a moulded base. The east side of the lobby is of rounded form, with a mass of foundations behind that evidently carried the continuation of the staircase in the form of a vice to an apartment on the first floor.

Between the parlour and dorter was a chamber of the first work, 27 feet from east to west and 15 feet wide, originally entered from the cloister. The entrance was afterwards done away with, the opening filled up, and the room narrowed three feet, by the construction of a wall against the original south side. A new entrance was then made by a small doorway of a single member with rounded jambs, off the staircase in the lobby to the dorter. The chamber was no doubt originally used as the parlour, but after the building of the new one to the north it may have become the prison.

DORTER DOOR AND STEPS, WITH WALL OF CLOISTER IN FOREGROUND.

face 42.

THE DORTER.

The great dorter[1] (*dormitorium*) was the sleeping-place of the convent. It usually occupied the whole of the first floor of the eastern range, and had a flight of steps from the cloister for use by day, and another into the church, by which the monks went to say their night offices.

At Waverley, incredible as it may appear, considering the site was so subject to frequent floods, the dorter was on the ground floor, and only raised above the level of the cloister by the few steps already referred to. This unusual arrangement has caused several departures from the uniformity of Cistercian plans, so that there is no direct communication from the dorter to the church, no building over the chapter-house, and the place usually occupied by the day stairs is a passage cut off from the warming-house. In addition to the evidence of the buildings themselves, that the dorter was on the ground, the Annals state that in the flood of 1265, in the passage already quoted, "the monks, being disturbed, passed the following night in the church, the treasury, and the guest-house, according as they were able,"[2] which would not have been necessary had the dorter been in its usual position and so above the level of the church.

The first stone dorter was little later in date than the original church, judging by the similarity of the masonry and the thick internal plastering of the walls. It was 80 feet long by 27 feet wide, and entered from the cloister by a doorway on the site of the later inserted one already described. The original level was some four feet below the later thirteenth-century level, and the side walls,

[1] The old English word "dorter," meaning a sleeping-place, occurs in the form of "dortore" before the end of the thirteenth century. It is derived from the French *dortour* or *dortoir*, which, in turn, comes from the Latin *dormitorium*. See *A New English Dictionary*, iii. 607, *s. v.* Dortour, Dorter.

[2] *Annales de Waverleia*, 162.

though beneath the present turf, remain to some four feet in height as far as the great drain. In the east wall, close to the drain, is a length of later walling marking the position of the entrance to the original rere-dorter. The foundations of the south wall still remain, but at a considerable depth, and formed also the side of the drain.

Later in the twelfth century the dorter was extended southward, making it 137 feet in total length. In the west wall of this extension, at its south end, was an opening 18 feet wide, with plain square jambs with chamfered angles and a plinth, built in freestone, that led into a contemporary apartment. This apartment was 38 feet from east to west, by 27 feet wide, and seems to have been part of the dorter itself. It was devoid of any feature, but the north wall had been repaired in later days, as a fragment of fourteenth century window tracery was found built in as old material towards the east end.

In the thirteenth century the dorter was again lengthened 66 feet to the south, the old south end was removed, and the floor of the whole dorter raised about another two feet (making four in all) above the original level. The whole of this extension remains to almost its full height, and retains its original plaster internally on the walls. The south end is a gable without buttresses, pierced by three tall lancet windows of uniform height, having externally wide chamfered jambs and arches with moulded heads, and internally wide splays with grooves for wooden frames to hold the glazing. The side walls have each two single lancets of similar character to those in the south gable. Those on the east side have small lamp niches, lined with brick, to the south of each. North of the northernmost window is a small inserted window of fifteenth-century date, with moulded jambs and a square head. There is a gap in the wall between the two original windows that apparently contained a similar inserted window. The arrangement of large and small windows alternating is similar to that in the dorter at Fountains, where Mr. Hope suggests that the use of the small windows

WAVERLEY ABBEY—DORTER.

EXTERIOR OF SOUTH GABLE.

INTERIOR OF SOUTH END.

face 44.

was to light the novices' cubicles, which were possibly placed between the larger ones of the monks. At Clairvaulx the novices were together at the south end of the dorter; "with the chamber of their master at the end made of woodwork, in which is a window through which he sees all that the said novices do"[1] and the same arrangement existed at Durham.

The dorter itself was divided into small chambers with a wide passage down the middle, and the chambers are described at Clairvaulx as "made of joiners' work only, from seven to eight feet in length and six feet feet wide, in all of which there is a bedstead, with bedding thereon, a little cupboard, and a table for writing, and the said chambers are ornamented and furnished with beautiful pictures upon canvas and tables relating to the devotion of each religious. In each of the doors of these chambers is a window of two divisions, by which each religious, going by the dorters, is able to see his companion in his chamber. In the middle of the dorter is a large cupboard, in which are the copes, chasubles, and other ornaments of the church, which are in great number and very rich."[2]

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[1] Didron, *Annales Archeologiques*, iii. 231.

. . . "et au bout la chambre de leur maistre, fête de menuiserie, où il y a une fenestre, par laquel il voit tout ce que font lesdicts novisses."

[2] *Ibid.* . . . . . "et sont faictes de menuiserie, seulement, contenant, de longueur, de sept à huict piedz et, de largeur, six piedz, en toutes lequelles y a ung chalit, le lict dessus, ung petit comptoire et ung poulpitre pour escripre, et sont lesdictes chambres, ornées et accoutrées de belle ymaiges en toille et tableau selon la dévotion d'ung chacun religieulx.

Item, En chacun des huisse d'icelles chambres y a une fenestre à deux bareaux, par laquelle ung chacun religieulx, allant par les dortoirs, peult veoir son compaignon en sa chambre; . . . .

Item, Au milieu dudict dortoir y a des grandes armaires ès-quelles sont les chappes, chasubles et autres ornemens de l'église, qui sont en grand nombre et très riches."

THE TREASURY.

Reverting to the vice at the north end of the dorter. This led to a floor above the parlour or prison; but whether it was a single apartment or subdivided is impossible to say, as everything but a small part of the north wall in connection with the chapter-house is entirely destroyed. It was without doubt the treasury, which was generally in connection with the dorter, and by the passage already quoted from the Annals, it is obvious that at Waverley that apartment was at a higher level, and easily attainable from the dorter.

THE RERE-DORTER.

The rere-dorter (*dormitorii necessaria*) of the monks projected from the east side of the dorter.

This building was constructed in stone from the first, but originally was further to the north than its successor. It was 50 feet long by about 20 feet wide, and entered at its west end by a doorway from the dorter in the gap already mentioned. Part of the east wall was incorporated with later work, and the foundation of the north wall was afterwards used as that of the south wall of the misericord. The south wall has entirely gone, but doubtless formed the south side of the drain, and against it would be arranged, over the drain, the usual row of seats.

The building apparently remained unaltered until the enlargement of the dorter in the thirteenth century, at which time it also underwent a considerable change. The old north wall was taken down to the foundations, and a new one built three feet further south; the old south wall was removed and a new one built twelve feet to the south, which returned with a new east wall up to within four feet of the south-west angle of the infirmary hall. The north angle of this last work had

a chamfer with a moulded stop. The enlarged building was apparently arranged with a double rank of seats, back to back, down the middle, over the drain, and would thus give the necessary accommodation for the increased number of inmates which the enlarged dorter would hold.

In later times this accommodation was considered unnecessary, and a wall was accordingly built immediately on the north side of the drain, and the seats must have been reduced to the original number. The narrow chamber thus formed in the north part of the rere-dorter was apparently made to serve as a gallery from the abbot's house directly into the dorter.

The buildings just described complete those along the east side of the cloister, and before dealing with others to the east of them it will be well to follow the rest of those round the cloister.

The buildings on the south side included the warming-house, frater, and kitchen.

THE WARMING-HOUSE.

The warming-house (*calefactorium*) was so called from being the only place wherein a fire was kept for the monks to warm themselves at in winter. It was at Waverley a room 39 feet long from east to west by 19 feet wide. The east end was screened off to form a passage or lobby. At the north end of the passage was a doorway of a single chamfered member, of which the east jamb remained, and at the south end was another door that had been entirely destroyed. From the lobby another doorway opened into the warming-house itself. In the middle of the south wall was a

great hearth, 18 feet long by 6 feet deep, with a round-backed fire-place recessed in the wall. Under the floor, following the west wall, was a stone-built drain, 12 inches wide, that took the waste water from the lavatory in the cloister.

Southward of the warming-house was an open court with a pentice along its east side. Under the pentice was a stone seat, and at the northern end the sill of a wide inserted recess in the dorter wall. At the south end of the pentice was a doorway of a single chamfered order, leading from a building occupying the south side of the court.

This building was 37 feet from east to west by 20 feet wide, and was apparently used as a store for fuel for the use of the warming-house fire. It must have been an awkward arrangement, as the only way to it was from the cloister, through which all the fuel must have been brought.[1]

THE LAVATORY.

The north wall of the warming-house has been thickened to contain the recess for the lavatory in the cloister, but nothing more than the foundations were found. The lavatory was apparently altered when the level of the cloister was raised, as opposite each end of the thicker wall were the plinths of bold buttresses of fifteenth-century date projecting into the cloister garth.

[1] At Fountains the fuel store occupied the side of the yard behind the warming-house, and the wood was conveyed to it direct by a wooden bridge over the river. At Roche the space between the south ends of the dorter and the frater was occupied by a room, but a passage was left against the frater wall for the direct conveyance of wood to the warming-house. At Kirkstall and Jervaulx, after the later meat kitchen was built between the dorter and frater, the same difficulty of conveying the wood to the warming-house must have occurred as at Waverley.

THE FRATER.

The frater[1] (*refectorium*) or dining-hall of the convent was invariably upon the opposite side of the cloister to the church. In Benedictine houses it was placed east and west, an arrangement which appears to have been followed by the Cistercians until nearly the end of the twelfth century. After that time, for what reason is not known, the frater was systematically placed north and south, and where earlier fraters had existed, or were in course of construction, they were altered to the new fashion, or rule as it may be called, judging from the universal adoption of the plan.

At Waverley a diligent search was made for an east and west frater, but if this was ever built in stone, which is doubtful, all evidence of its existence had disappeared. The frater of which the remains were found was a fine apartment 118 feet long by 27½ feet wide, placed north and south. It was roofed with timber[2] in one span, and entered from the cloister at the north end by a doorway[3] considerably out of the middle, which may be owing to its having been that of an earlier east and west frater. A small fragment of the south end yet stands above ground, and both side walls were found remaining to about eighteen inches above the floor level. The frater was mostly of twelfth-century date, and had flat pilaster buttresses at the south angles with chamfered plinths, and a wide projection in the west wall for the pulpit, which also had a cham-

[1] The old-English word "Frater," meaning a dining-hall, is at least as old as the thirteenth century. It has nothing to do with *frater*, a brother, but is derived from the old French *fraitur*, a shortened form of *refreitor*, which comes from the Middle Latin *refectorium*. See *A New English Dictionary*, iv. 515, *s. v.* Frater.

[2] Though vaulted Cistercian fraters of two and three aisles are general abroad no example has yet been found in this country where the timber roof for this building seems to have been general.

[3] Nothing remained of the doorway but three stones of its chamfered sill.

fered plinth externally. The pulpit was entered at the north end of the projecting block through a narrow doorway which had been destroyed except its chamfered sill. Steps in the thickness of the wall led up to the pulpit itself, which would probably be arranged upon a corbelled projection into the frater like those at Fountains and Beaulieu. A pulpit was general in all monastic fraters, and from it portions of the Scriptures were read during meals "in order that as the body took in physical nourishment the mind might be sustained with spiritual food."

In the thirteenth century the side walls of the frater were strengthened, where there were no abutting walls, by the addition of square buttresses with chamfered plinths, which divided the building roughly into five irregular-sized bays. At the same time a buttress was added, in line with the west wall, projecting into the cloister.

The dais for the high table at the south end was raised by two steps above the general floor level. It had a stone seat against the south wall. Along both side walls were continuous stone seats for the convent, which were a later addition, as the plaster of the walls was found behind them. They began at the steps to the dais; that upon the west side was broken for the entrance to the pulpit, and stopped at eighteen feet from the north end, while that upon the east side was continuous to within five feet of the north wall. In front of the seats wooden tables were placed, and some of the stone sockets for their wooden posts were found. One upon the east side may have been in position. At the north-west angle of the frater was a block of masonry that supported a small lavatory for washing the drinking vessels and spoons after meals. The lavatory for this purpose yet remains at Tintern, but in that case is recessed in the wall, and was fed by water from the lavatory in the cloister. There is also a small cupboard at the side in which to keep the vessels. At Clairvaulx, in 1517, was a fountain in the middle of the frater for washing the drinking vessels and a

rack to put them in.[1] At Waverley no remains were found of the serving hatch from the kitchen, but it appears to have been at some thirty feet from the north end.

THE KITCHEN.

The kitchen (*coquina*) with its offices filled the space between the frater and the cellarer's building, but scarcely any of the walls remained above floor level.

It was 22½ feet from north to south by 19 feet wide, and was entered from the cloister by a doorway which has been destroyed. It formed part of the late twelfth-century remodelling of the same time as the frater, but was slightly altered again when the new cellarer's building was erected in the thirteenth century. The east wall was mostly occupied by a great fire-place, 14 feet wide, apparently of the thirteenth century, which was reduced in later times to one only 7 feet wide. There was a doorway in the west wall at its north end, of which one stone of its south jamb remained, into the cellarer's building. The floor was paved with large red tiles, but had been mostly destroyed. There was, judging from the drain, a washing-up sink against the south wall, but all other evidences of fittings were lost.

Southward of the kitchen was a passage, with a thin south wall; it was probably covered by a pentise similar to the corresponding feature at Fountains, and was paved with large tiles and bricks, and had a brick channel across it, from the sink in the kitchen. At the east end must have been a serving-hatch into the frater, and there was a doorway, of which two of its sill stones remained, with the lay-brothers' frater at the opposite end.[2]

[1] Didron, *Annales Archéologiques*, iii. 230. "Au milieu duquel y a une fontaine et rattelier pour mectre les pintes et choppines."

[2] Mr. Hope suggests that the original fire-place of the twelfth-century kitchen was on the west side, and destroyed to make way for

Beyond the pentise was a small yard having a wall on the south in line with the north side of the great drain. It was paved with rough slabs of stone, in which was continued the channel drain from the kitchen sink.

The rest of the space between the frater and the cellarer's building was also a yard bounded on the south by a stone wall in line with the south ends of those buildings. In the south-west angle adjoining the frater was a square hearth formed of tiles on edge, but no remains of any building covering it were found.

At the back of the frater pulpit was a small room, 12½ feet from north to south by 8½ feet wide, and walls only 20 inches thick, that may have been for storing the fuel for the kitchen fire. In the north-west corner of the room were four large floor tiles in position.

THE CELLARER'S BUILDING.

The west side of the cloisters of Cistercian houses was occupied by a long range of building which formed the house of the lay-brothers (*conversi*) who were under the mastership of the cellarer.[1] For this reason, as the building contained other apartments besides those occupied by the lay-brothers but which were also under the charge of the cellarer, it became known as the cellarer's building (*cellarium*). Lay-brothers among other Orders were merely servants drawn from the lower classes, but with the Cistercians they were often of the same social position as the monks themselves, and like them had

the thirteenth-century alterations of the cellarer's building. A new fire-place was then made against the east wall, thereby blocking up the hatch into the frater. The pentice on the south was accordingly constructed for use as a serving-place, with a hatch at each end into the two fraters that there flanked it.

[1] Cistercian Statutes, *Yorkshire Archæological Journal*, x. 232. The cellarer was the officer next in importance to the prior, and had the management, under the abbot, of all the temporal matters of the house.

taken the three monastic vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience. The main difference, in fact, between them and the quire monks was, that the lay-brothers were illiterate and the monks could read and write. They had charge of all the external affairs of the house and performed the manual labour generally.[1] This particular class of religious appears to have died out about the middle of the fourteenth century, owing doubtless to the increase of education amongst the better classes, and was superseded by mere hired servants of the same standing as in other Orders. In some abbeys their buildings were changed to other purposes, and new ones erected elsewhere for the new class, but in many cases the new servants seem to have occupied the quarters of their predecessors.[2]

At Waverley the cellarer's building formed part of the first work built in stone; it was 26½ feet wide, and extended at least 160 feet from the nave of the church. On its west side, over the main drain, was a large rere-dorter considerably out of square with the rest of the building.

At the same time that the nave of the first church was taken down, the northern part of the cellarer's building, as far as the south wall of the cloister, was also removed, and its site included in the cloister. The old west wall, with that of the west end of the church in continuation with it, was retained to a certain height to form the west side of the extended cloister. This wall is now destroyed above ground, but remains for some three feet above the thirteenth-century level. The junction of the destroyed south wall of the first church had been carefully made good, but as the west wall of the church was thicker than that of the cellarer's building, there

[1] *Ibid.* x. 503—510; with the excellent note upon the chapter by the Rev. J. T. Fowler, M.A., F.S.A.

[2] Ford and Hayles followed the example of Cisteaux and converted the cellarer's building into lodgings for their abbots, whereas, at Fountains, Kirkstall and Beaulieu, the building appears to have lasted practically untouched to the Suppression, but it may have been used as a granary as at Clairvaulx.

was a break in the inside force. About the middle of the latter wall was an original doorway of a single square member. This had been built up in the thirteenth century, when a new doorway was inserted in the wall further south, having two plain chamfered members. There was a stone seat along the whole of the west side of the enlarged cloister, passing in front of the blocked original doors, but stopping on either side of the inserted doorway.

Though the cellarer's building itself had been destroyed, the Sunday procession still went on its old way outside the cloister instead of along the west walk in the Benedictine manner.[1] For the protection of the procession and other purposes there was a passage 8 feet wide, superseding an earlier pentise external to, but of the full length of this side of, the cloister up to the western procession door into the church. The outer wall of the passage was 3 feet 6 inches thick, which suggests that it had a stone seat along its inner face.

The southern part of the cellarer's building, instead of being demolished was rebuilt, and extended further to the south, most probably before the destruction of the northern part. It consisted of a two-storied building divided into nine bays, of which the four southern bays of the ground story remain tolerably perfect, with the gable of the south end. Some part of the northern end was destroyed in the latter part of the eighteenth century "to make a prospect."[2]

The ground story was vaulted, with simply moulded cross and diagonal ribs and roll wall ribs. The vaulting was carried upon marble columns, having moulded caps and bases, down the middle of the apartment, and by moulded corbels on the walls.

The west wall had in the first five bays from the south coupled lancet lights, with a containing arch inside that showed externally as a constructional arch over

[1] At Hayles, where the cellarer's building was converted into the abbot's lodging, a doorway was inserted at the end of the west walk of the cloister into the church, by which the procession might return.

[2] *The Gentleman's Magazine*, for 1802, 1115.

CELLARER'S BUILDING. INTERIOR OF LAY BROTHERS' FRATER.

face 55.

the lancets. The jambs and arches of the windows were chamfered on the outside, and had rebates for wooden frames for glazing. The sixth bay, over the drain, was blank, and the remainder of the wall was ruined to the foundations, but had probably a doorway in the northernmost bay. There were buttresses with double chamfered plinths opposite the four southern columns, but beyond them northward were no buttresses, which seems to indicate that the original wall had been incorporated in the new work.

The east wall was for the first five bays similar to the west,[1] but northward there were no windows, owing to the remaining bays being covered by the kitchen and its offices. In the seventh bay was the serving-door from the passage at the back of the kitchen, and in the northernmost bay was the door from the kitchen; both doors have been already described.

The north wall projected slightly into the cloister and had a buttress in the middle, but there was no indication of any doorway giving entrance from the cloister. The eastern half of the wall is thicker than the rest, owing apparently to the retention of part of an original wall in line with the south wall of the cloister.

The south end had a pair of coupled lancets precisely similar to those on the east and west sides, divided by a buttress, and the angles had double buttresses slightly larger than the rest.

The whole of the first floor of this building was occupied by the dorter of the lay-brothers, but very little of this remains except the south gable. This had a couple of lancet windows, with a round window in the gable between. The northern of the lancet windows has been blocked up, but the southern was enlarged in the fifteenth century by the insertion of a large two-light window with a square head. The dorter must have been approached by a flight of steps outside the seventh

[1] In the second bay from the south has been inserted a fire-place, with a stone chimney, apparently at the same time as the north end was destroyed, and the three southern bays made into a summer-house with stone-paved floor of diagonal quarries.

bay on the west side, and the passage west of the cloister gave direct communication from it to the church. A similar arrangement exists both at Tintern and Netley, where, in both cases, the cellarer's building stops short of the church, but the more usual plan when it abutted the church was to have both a day and night stairs similar to the normal arrangement of the monk's dorter.

THE LAY-BROTHERS' RERE-DORTER.

On the west side of the cellarer's building was the rere-dorter of the lay-brothers, and although the whole is much ruined, owing chiefly to repairs to the great drain at various periods since the Suppression, its arrangement with the surrounding buildings is remarkably interesting.

The first rere-dorter was contemporary with the cellarer's first building, and directly adjoined its dorter. It was 14 feet wide by at least 60 feet long, and was set at a considerable angle with the main building. The north wall was found at a great depth below the surface, but ran without a break its full length. The south wall was incorporated with the lay-brothers' infirmary, which was added on the south side towards the end of the twelfth century.

At this time the rere-dorter was altered by building a new east wall in line with that of the new infirmary some eighteen feet from the cellarer's building. The south wall was partly taken down, but the altered length of the building is uncertain, though possibly it was equal to that of the infirmary itself, as at Furness. The altered rere-dorter was then connected with the lay-brothers' dorter by a wooden bridge; the gap for the opening thereto and one of the holes for the southern supporting beam still shows in the dorter wall. The bridge did not enter the rere-dorter direct, but opened upon a gallery which apparently covered the whole of the north aisle

of the infirmary, and from this the rere-dorter was entered.[1]

In later times the rere-dorter was pulled down to give place to another building, of which sundry foundations remain to the north at a much higher level, and, in one place, covering those of the rere-dorter. This building was about 25 feet from north to south by 22 feet from east to west, but whether it was also used as a rere-dorter (as is probable) is impossible to say, owing to the very fragmentary nature of its remains. To the north-west of this building are the remains of a later passage, about 6 feet wide, that seems to have led from the cloister entrance to a doorway in the north wall of the lay-brothers' infirmary.

As the cellarer's building with its rere-dorter completes the buildings immediately surrounding the cloister, it will be well at this point to revert to the large detached group of buildings to the east which formed the monks' infirmary.

THE MONKS' INFIRMARY.

The monks' infirmary (*infirmitorium monachorum*), was required not only for the temporary accommodation of the sick, but, as its name implies, for the permanent housing of the infirm, who were physically unfit to endure the rigorous life of the cloister, and the aged who had been professed fifty years (*sempectæ*). In the Benedictine Order, and among some of the Canons, those who had been let blood (*minuti*) were allowed to go into the infirmary temporarily after that weakening process, which took place four times in the year, but the Cistercians were allowed no such privilege.

The only early Cistercian infirmary of which anything is known is at Rievaulx, where it consists of a great hall placed north and south, with perhaps a chapel upon the

[1] The aisle of the lay-brothers' infirmary at Fountains, next the rere-dorter, was also covered by a floor, with access to the rere-dorter, but in that case the arrangement was not original.

east. At Waverley there is evidence of an earlier wooden building on the site of the infirmary, and this was, no doubt, the usual nature of these structures in early days, otherwise it is impossible to account for the general building of infirmaries that occurred in the thirteenth century. At Fountains the later infirmary was built by Abbot John of Kent[1] (1220–47); at Meaux, Abbot John of Ottingham (1221–35) began the monks' infirmary;[2] at Louth Park, Abbot Richard of Dunham (1227–46) "made the monks' infirmary with a lodging for the infirmarer, the kitchen, and other things necessary."[3]

At Waverley the first stone infirmary is, after Rievaulx, the earliest example of the kind in this country. It was arranged round a small cloister with a great hall on the west, a chapel on the north, a distinct house on the east, and a kitchen on the south. The whole block was separated from the main buildings by a court-yard, and from the church on the north by a second court. Eastward was a large walled garden, with an entrance on the north consisting of a pair of wooden doors, of which the ends of the wooden posts remained in the ground.

The main part of the buildings is of one date, and was completed sufficiently to allow the chapel to be hallowed upon the 6th November, 1201, by the same Albin, bishop of Ferns, in Ireland,[4] who dedicated the eastern chapels of the new church thirteen years later. With the exception of part of the north wall of the chapel and a small piece of the north-west angle of the hall, attached to the chapter-house, the infirmary has all been destroyed above the ground level; but mostly remains beneath to some eighteen inches above

[1] Leland, *Collectanea*, iv. 109.

[2] *Chronica de Melsa* (Rolls series, 43), i. 432.

[3] *Chronicon de Parco Lude* (Lincolnshire Record Society), 13.

[4] *Annales de Waverleia*, 90 *b*.

1201. "Capella de infirmitorio dedicata est viii. idus Novembris a domino Albino, episcopo Fernensi Hiberniæ, monacho ordinis Cisterciensis."

the original floor. The infirmary was directly connected with the cloister by a wide passage in continuation of the parlour. This passage had a pentise roof against the chapter-house, of which the string-course forming the weathering remains, and was supported next the court upon a narrow wall with a buttress in the middle of its length and a stone seat along the inside face.[1] Beyond the east end of the chapter-house is a length of wall standing some eight feet high in which was a doorway of a single member. This door probably gave access to a covered way connecting the infirmary with the church, similarly to those at Fountains and Jervaulx, but as no remains of it were found it was probably constructed of wood.

THE INFIRMARY HALL.

The great hall was 90 feet from north to south by 38 feet wide, and was divided into a nave with eastern aisle by a row of five columns. Some of these, if not all, were originally wooden posts round which were built the stone columns, alternately circular and octagonal, as a mere casing only 6 inches thick. These columns had moulded bases. The responds were half octagons, without provision for wooden posts, and had moulded bases with carved spurs at the angles. The columns and responds were no doubt taken up to the roof without any arches, as in the case of the contemporary domestic hall at Warnford, in Hampshire.[2] The date of this casing and the responds is apparently the same as the rest of the infirmary building, in which case the posts must have belonged to an earlier wooden structure on the site. But the evidence of this is based entirely upon the existence of the posts, and as no other

[1] A stone-built drain crossed the passage obliquely towards its eastern end.

[2] *Archæologia*, v. 357.

remains of it were found, its size and nature are mere conjecture.[1]

The west wall of the hall had towards its north end the fragmentary remains of a doorway, which was apparently the main entrance, but it was not exactly opposite the passage from the cloister. Towards the south end was another doorway of a single square number, opening into a building which will be described later.

The north and south ends were originally blank, so that the fire was probably upon a hearth in the middle of the hall, with an open lantern in the roof above.

The north wall of the aisle was also blank in the first place.

The east wall of the aisle had, in the first bay from the north, a doorway to the chapel, of two members, of which the inner was cut out on both jambs; in the second bay was a doorway of a single beaded member, from the infirmary cloister; the rest of the wall was blank, and the extreme south end had been destroyed.

The south wall of the aisle had a doorway from without, of a single chamfered member, of which only the west jamb remained, the rest of the wall having been destroyed.

Externally, at the north end of the hall was a flat buttress opposite the line of the columns, and a deeper one with a chamfered plinth in line of the east wall of the aisle. Opposite the west wall was a large buttress which still retains a set-off covered with tiles.

Towards the end of the fourteenth century considerable changes were made in the hall and chapel, and new buildings were erected on the west side of the former. The first alteration was effected by parting off the northern end of the hall and aisle by a wall in line with the south wall of the chapel, and raising the

[1] Had the bases been of later date than the outer walls, the wooden parts might have been of the same date as the rest of the building; in that case it would have been similar to the infirmary hall at Kirkstall, which in the first place had wooden posts that were superseded by stone columns in the fourteenth century.

floor some eighteen inches. In this party wall were doorways in the middle of both hall and aisle, leading by steps down to the original levels. The angles of the lower step to the aisle door were formed of parts of a moulded circular base that apparently came from one of the columns in the hall. If so, the first column from the north was removed at this time, which could easily have been done if, as is supposed, the columns did not carry arches.

The northern part of this newly separated portion was divided by partitions into three rooms, with inserted fire-places in the north wall of each, with probably a passage outside them from the main entrance of the hall to the chapel doorway. To the south of this passage was one room at least, as the hearth of its fire-place was found just westward of the site of the northernmost column of the hall. It is difficult to understand how the room was lighted, unless the southern part of the base was without a roof.[1]

Subsequently, the level of the rest of the hall and aisle was raised to that of the northern portion, and a thick wall built between the columns separating the aisle. The aisle was then divided by cross walls into separate rooms, with a lobby at the north end inside the door to the cloister. The indications of this subdivision were fragmentary, especially at the south end of the aisle, and no indications of the arrangements of the rooms were found, owing to the walls having been destroyed down to the raised level.

Similar dividing up of infirmaries seems to have been general in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and considerable remains of such division may be seen at Fountains, Kirkstall, and Quarr. At Meaux, Abbot William Scarborough (1372–96) made separate private cameras in the monks' infirmary and instituted one

[1] Such a change occurred at St. Mary Magdalene's hospital at Glastonbury, where the hall was unroofed when the aisle bays were converted into separate little houses, but in this case the transformation was of late Tudor work.

inhabitant to each.[1] At Clairvaulx, the infirmary of the seventeenth century was composed of small detached rooms round a cloister, similar to the late arrangement at the Benedictine house of Westminster.

THE INFIRMARY CHAPEL.

The chapel immediately adjoined the aisle of the hall on the east, and was 45 feet long by 21 feet wide. In the north wall was a locker with rebates for a door, and in the south wall a doorway, from the cloister, of a single beaded member. The rough foundation for the altar platform was found at the east end.

Externally, the east end had wide clasping buttresses, with double chamfered plinths, and there was a wide buttress in the middle of each side with single chamfered plinths.

The chapel was used for sepulture, and in it was buried Matilda Lebard, *alias* of London, a considerable benefactress to the abbey, in 1263.[2] Owing to the importance attached to this lady's tomb, licence was obtained from the bishop of Winchester, in 1335, to remove her bones, as the chapel had become useless and indecent for burials owing to frequent floods, and was no longer fit for Christian burial.[3] It must have been shortly after this date that repairs were begun and the general alterations of the infirmary buildings undertaken. The floor of the chapel was raised at the same time as the northern end of the hall, the south doorway built up, and the locker on the north cut down and converted into a doorway.

[1] *Chronica de Melsa* (Rolls Series, 1866), iii. 223. "Cameras privatas in infirmitorio monachorum separari et inhabitari per singulas instituit."

[2] *Annales de Waverleia*, 151.

1263. "Matildis de Londonia . . . in capella infirmitorii eorundem humata."

[3] *Surrey Archæological Collections*, viii. 187.

This doorway led into a room on the north, about 13 feet square, which was built about this time. Its east wall was however earlier, of apparently the thirteenth century, and contained an inserted fire-place of the later work that retained the stone curb of the hearth. There were a few flooring tiles in position in the north-east angle. The earlier east wall continued some twelve feet beyond the room, but could not be traced further. In this part of the wall were the jambs of a doorway, having a single chamfered member, which had been built up in later days. It appeared to have had a porch upon the inside, the western wall of which was marked by very rough foundations. In line with these, a narrow wall, with two small buttresses upon its west side, was continued up to the south-east angle of the church.

The area enclosed by this narrow wall was a cemetery, in which, at its north end against the new church, William of Broadwater was buried in 1222.[1] It must have included the old cemetery around the east end of the first church, but owing to the building operations it was apparently not used for some time, and during the Interdict of 1209–13 the monks were buried elsewhere, and this was obviously to the east of the new church. This new cemetery was hallowed by Albin, bishop of Ferns,[2] at the same time as the eastern altars were dedicated. Why the division between the old and new cemeteries was continued to the end is not clear, unless the old cemetery was disused for general burials.

THE INFIRMARY CLOISTER.

The infirmary cloister was 60 feet from east to west by 51 feet from north to south, and had alleys on the north, east, and south sides, and probably in the first place, along the west side also.

[1] *Annales de Waverleia*, 113.

[2] *Ibid.* 104. "Et cœmiterium super interdictos defunctos benedixit."

The north alley was entered from the hall by the doorway already mentioned, and extended 11½ feet beyond the east wall of the chapel.[1] On the south side adjoining the hall was the chamfered base of a conduit, 11 feet long by 5½ feet wide, constructed of Purbeck marble. To this the water was conveyed in lead pipes from the source before being distributed to the rest of the monastery.[2] A portion of a shallow trough, and a pair of respond capitals of a twin-columned arcade were found here, which evidently belonged to the superstructure.

The foundation of the south wall of the alley continued up to the east wall of the cloister, and there was a foundation running north, just to the east of the conduit, that apparently formed a similar continuation of a destroyed western alley. At the east end of the north alley was a doorway to the building that occupied the east side of the cloister. Eleven feet from the west wall of this building was the foundation of the wall of the eastern alley. It continued up to the north wall of the kitchen; and at twelve feet from the latter there was another foundation that formed the outer wall of the south alley. It is difficult to understand why these alley walls continued up to the main walls of the cloister, unless it was for imagined strength.

Against the hall wall, on the site of the supposed west alley, was erected in later days a small room 14 feet from east to west and 9 feet wide. It contained in the north-east angle the remains of an oven, with a raised paved platform to the south. No indications of an entrance doorway were found, and the use of the room in this position is not clear.

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[1] No foundation of a north wall beyond the chapel was found, owing possibly to the whole interval forming the entrance to the garden. The entrance to the infirmary garden at Fountains was at first through a similar side opening without a door.

[2] The base of the conduit in a precisely similar position has recently been found at Beaulieu, but that at Fountains was enclosed in a small house.

WAVERLEY ABBEY—MONKS' INFIRMARY.

FOUNDATION WALL MADE OF BASES.

BASE OF CONDUIT.

face 64.

VISITING ABBOTS' LODGING.

The buildings on the east side of the cloister seem to have formed a complete two-storied house, but were so much ruined that the exact arrangements are not clear. They consisted of a building 39 feet from north to south by 27 feet wide, a small chamber 13 feet square, on the south side next the cloister, and the pit of an added gardrobe adjoining it to the east. The larger building had buttresses on the east side in line with the end walls, and was divided into two portions by a wall running east and west. This wall was 6 feet thick in the western part, and 4 feet in the eastern, but had a projection on the south side, and apparently contained and supported a staircase leading to the upper floor. The northern portion of the building was subdivided into two chambers by a wall running north and south, which was continued into the middle of the southern portion, where it stopped with a large block of masonry. In the southern portion were the remains of two original doorways, of a single square member; one in the west wall opening from the cloister alley, the other in the south wall at its extreme west end leading into the small chamber to the south. Projecting from the south wall, at five feet from the east end, was the foundation for a partition wall formed of bases, apparently from a destroyed thirteenth-century cloister.[1] Externally, against the east wall, was an added square projection that seemed to have supported an oriel to the room above.

The arrangement of the upper floor is mere supposition, but may have had two or more bedrooms over the northern portion, a hall over the southern portion, with a fire-place in the middle supported on the block of masonry already referred to, an oriel in the east wall, a gardrobe to the south, and an oratory over the small southern chamber.

[1] These most probably were from the destroyed west walk of the infirmary cloister.

It is not an uncommon thing to find a complete house of this description in connection with the infirmary of a Cistercian abbey, as at Fountains, Jervaulx, and Whalley; and so far the most satisfactory explanation of their use is, that they were for the accommodation of the abbot of the mother-house during his annual visitation, or for any other very distinguished guests. A house in a corresponding position, at Clairvaulx, was known as the *hospitium regis*, and the Waverley example may have accommodated the respective kings of England during their visits to the abbey, in 1208, 1225, and 1325.

THE INFIRMARY KITCHEN.

Overlapping one-half of the south side of the infirmary cloister was the kitchen, a building 37 feet from north to south, and 30 feet wide. It had a wide hearth, formed of tiles set on edge, against the east wall and possibly there was another fire-place against the south wall. Near the middle of the west wall was the southern jamb of a doorway, of which the corresponding jamb was destroyed, and there was probably another doorway in the north wall connecting with the cloister. In the north-west angle were the remains of an oven, some large red paving tiles occurred further southward, and there was a block of masonry adjoining the south jamb of the west door, but the whole was much ruined even to the foundations. The great drain of the abbey passed beneath the south end of the kitchen, and externally, at the south-west corner, was a small added chamber with a drain.

On the east was a space between the kitchen and the wall of the garden, the northern half of which was subsequently made into a room plastered internally.

The door in the west wall of the kitchen apparently connected with a covered passage, that led to the door at the south end of the aisle of the great hall; but it is

uncertain if any building occupied the space between this passage and the cloister.

At the south end of the infirmary hall was a contemporary building 14 feet wide, beneath the south side of which passed the great drain of the abbey. The east wall was in line with the hall arcade, and the west wall was in the first place the end of the old rere-dorter, but altered when the new one was built in the thirteenth century. This building was apparently in the first place the rere-dorter of the infirmary, but subsequently put to other purposes. Against the south wall is an added block of masonry to support a fire-place in the room above.

To revert to the buildings added in the fourteenth century on the west side of the infirmary hall. These consisted of two chambers placed parallel to the hall, and another set nearly at right angles to them at the south end.

The northernmost chamber was 12 feet wide, but of uncertain length, owing to its north wall having entirely disappeared. It had an inserted fireplace in the west wall at the south end, which retained the stone curb of its hearth. Against the opposite wall was an added block of masonry to support something above. The floor was paved with small square tiles, of which a considerable portion remained in position.

The next chamber was 11 feet wide by 23 feet from north to south, but retained no evidence of any entrance. Along its north and east walls was a stone bench table for a seat. At six feet from the south end, in the east wall, was a square-plastered recess 20 inches deep and 25 inches wide.

There was probably a pentise along the west side of both rooms from which they were entered, but no indication of it was found. The use of both rooms is very uncertain, but it is suggested that one or both may have been for the accommodation of infectious diseases.

At Clairvaulx, at the back of the infirmary "was a chamber called the sad chamber, by reason that those sick with pestilence or contagious illness might be carried there and well treated."[1] At Meaux, Abbot William Scarborough (1372–96) "made the house of the monks grievously sick and furnished it with separate beds and tables."[2]

THE MISERICORD.

The third of the added chambers, that at right angles to the hall, was 36 feet long by 16 feet wide. It was entered at its east end by a doorway from the hall. Just to the north of this doorway, inside the chamber, was found a staddle stone in position, which had supported a wooden post, and other stones of a similar pattern were found loose. They apparently formed the bases of wooden posts that carried a gallery across the east end of the room. The south wall was built upon the foundations of the north wall of the original rere-dorter of the monks. Externally, towards the middle, was an added block of masonry forming the back of a fire-place, adjoining which to the west were a number of thirteenth-century tiles in position. Of about the same date as this added fire-place a passage-way had been cut diagonally through the angle of the infirmary hall and later rere-dorter from this chamber to the one at the south end of the hall.

This chamber was without doubt the misericord or meat frater, a building which with the Cistercians came into use towards the end of the fourteenth century.

[1] Didron, *Annales Archéologiques*, iii. 232.
"Au costé dudict lieu est la chambre, appellée la chambre griefve, pour ce que les malades de pestilance ou maladie contagieuse y sont portez et bien traictez."

[2] *Chronica de Melsa* (Rolls Series, 1866), iii. 223. "Ac domum graviter infirmantium monachorum lectisterniis cum tabulis separatis decoravit."

Up to that period the Cistercians, together with other reformed Benedictines, adhered strictly to the rule of St. Benedict, which enacted that no flesh meat be eaten except by the sick, and only by them during the time of their sickness.[1] No alteration of this rule occurs in the Statutes of 1256, but within the next hundred years, owing to the granting of numerous pittances, and the degeneracy of monastic fervour, things had so far changed that the Cistercians were allowed, by a privilege of Pope Benedict XII, in 1335, to eat meat in the infirmary, and by invitation of the abbot in his lodging.[2] Further relaxations occurred in later years, so that by the middle of the fifteenth century it was the custom to partake of meat three days in the week, namely, upon Sundays, Tuesdays and Thursdays, excepting in Advent, Septuagesima, Lent, and other seasons of fasting. But though meat was allowed as a permanent luxury, it was not to be partaken in the frater, which necessitated the provision of a special hall for the purpose.[3] As the infirmary was the place where meat was first allowed to be eaten, this hall, or misericord as it was called, was often in connection with the infirmary, as at Clairvaulx, Fountains, and Beaulieu, and the food was served from the infirmary kitchen. At Kirkstall, Jervaulx, Ford, and some other English houses, the frater itself was divided by a floor into the two fraters, one for use upon meat days, the other on ordinary days. The misericord, which was the lower hall, being served from a new kitchen erected specially for that purpose.

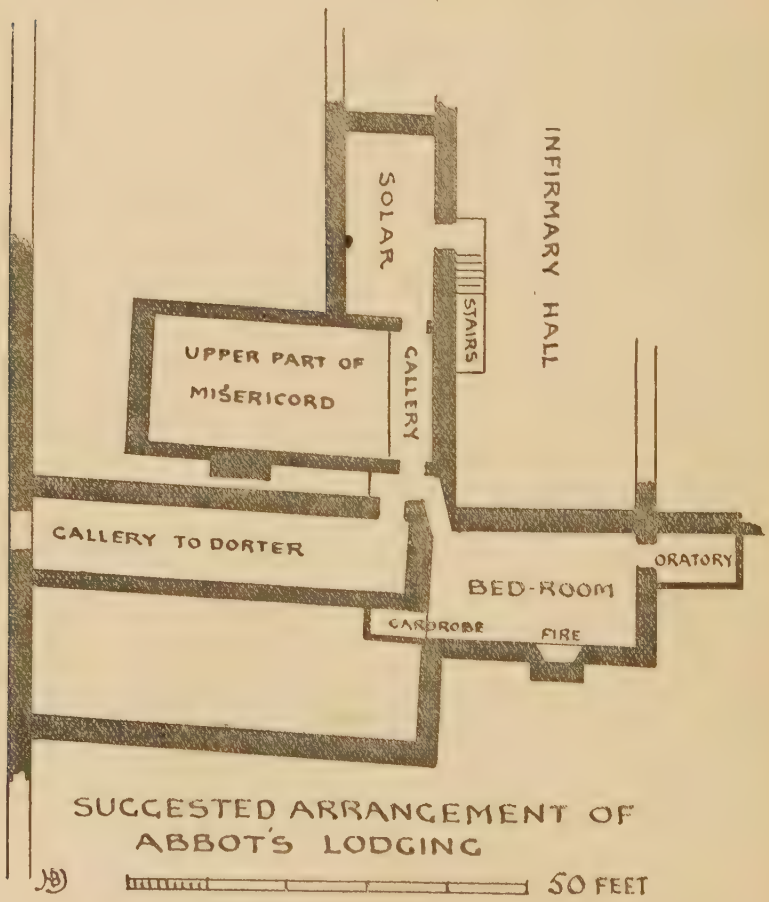
When the misericord was first built at Waverley, the meat was taken to it from the infirmary kitchen along the passage to the door in the south end of the aisle of the hall, and then across the south end of the hall; but later, when the aisle of the hall was divided up into rooms, the food was taken along the passage as before,

[1] *Regula St. Benedicti*, xxxvi.
[2] *Nomasticon Cisterciense*, 484.
[3] *Ibid.* 552.

across the room at the south end of the hall, and through the skew passage to the misericord.

ABBOT'S LODGING.

According to the *Consuetudines*, the abbot was enjoined to sleep in the dorter, but at most abbeys he appears



very soon to have obtained separate chambers, which in

time became a distinct house, but this was invariably placed in connection with the dorter so as not to break the letter of the rule.

At Waverley there is so little indication of there having been a separate lodging for the abbot, that at first sight he would seem to have kept the order literally, but if the buildings adjacent to the monks' rere-dorter be carefully examined they will be seen to have supported an upper story.[1] Though of a scattered nature, like the abbot's lodging at the larger establishment of Fountains, the chambers there arranged would have formed a tolerably convenient house. As at Fountains, the misericord appears to have been used as the abbot's hall, and just outside its east door, in the infirmary hall, was a block of masonry that supported stairs which led to the upper floor over the chamber immediately to the north of the misericord. This chamber, on the first floor, was presumably the abbot's solar, and the gallery across the misericord, a passage to the room over the chamber at the south end of the infirmary hall. This latter chamber had a fire-place in the south wall, as indicated by the added block of masonry already mentioned, and was doubtless his bedroom, with probably a small oratory to the east over the passage to the kitchen, and a gardrobe to the west over the pit of the rere-dorter. The long chamber cut off from the north side of the rere-dorter was, as already stated, a gallery of connection with the dorter. There may possibly have been another chamber northward of the solar, with a staircase down to the infirmary passage from the cloister, thus giving the abbot a direct communication with the cloister and the church without passing through the infirmary hall.

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[1] The writer is indebted to Mr. Hope for suggesting that the abbot's lodging was upon the upper story, but not for the presumed arrangement of the same, for which the writer is alone responsible.

THE LAY-BROTHERS' INFIRMARY.

Westward of the cellarer's building, and adjoining the south side of the lay-brothers' rere-dorter, was a large aisled hall, placed east and west, and of two dates. Nothing remained above ground, but, when excavated, a considerable part was found standing above the original floor level. From the position of this building, detached and yet communicating with that occupied by the lay-brothers, there can be little doubt that it was their infirmary. The lay-brothers were provided with an infirmary in the same way as the monks, and such a building is mentioned at Pipewell[1] and Meaux,[2] while remains of it, in a similar position to Waverley, exist at Fountains, Jervaulx, and Furness.

The earlier portion, that towards the east, was apparently built about the middle of the twelfth century. It consisted of a hall of five bays, 58 feet long, with a nave 19 feet wide, and aisles 8 feet wide. The nave was divided from the aisles by circular columns, with moulded bases and chamfered plinths, supported upon sleeper walls. The columns, built of small stones, were 27 inches in diameter, so that it would seem that they carried arches, and were not mere posts to take the roof, as in the case of the monks' infirmary. In the east wall of the nave was a doorway of a single square member, that led from the hall. Outside the doorway to the north were foundations of late date of what seemed to be a hearth. Inside the doorway to the south was a rough recess, that was possibly a fire-place, which had a projection behind it on the outside. The south aisle was devoid of any features. The north aisle had at its west end, against the north wall, the remains of an original staircase, which must have led to a floor above the aisle from which the rere-dorter and dorter could be reached. Outside the east end of the aisle was a wide buttress-like projection, with a double chamfered

[1] Cott. MS., *Otho B.* 14, f. 150 *b*.

[2] *Chronica de Melsa* (Rolls Series, 1866), ii. 119, and iii. 229.

SOUTH RESPOND IN MONKS' INFIRMARY HALL.

BASES ON NORTH SIDE OF LAY BROTHERS' INFIRMARY.

plinth, that apparently supported the bridge across to the dorter.

At the beginning of the thirteenth century, the building was extended westward 36 feet, and the old west wall then taken down. This new portion was of three bays, and the aisles were separated by columns of similar size to the old ones, but with mouldings of the later period. The western responds of the old work were left standing and a new half-column abutted against them. This was clearly shown on the north side, where the plinth remained entire; the earlier masonry being rough-axed, and the later finished with a chisel. The two southern columns of the new part were at a higher level than the rest, and although the bases were gone the foundations remained some eighteen inches above the corresponding columns on the north. The side walls were ruined to the floor level, so that no indication of any doorways which may have existed were found.

Westward of the lay-brothers' infirmary was an irregular-shaped yard. The north side was formed by a wall, in which there appears to have been an opening, in line with the north wall of the infirmary. The west side was bounded by a wall of two dates and of varying thickness, in which was an opening towards the north end. To the south of this opening, but on the west side of the wall, was a block of foundation 13 feet long by 2 feet broad. The south side of the yard was formed by a continuation of the west wall of the infirmary which turned at a sharp angle thirteen feet from the south-west angle.

To the south-west of this yard are some foundations which could not be satisfactorily traced, owing to two large trees, and the quantity of water from the river that ran into the trenches. They seem, however, to have formed a building of twelfth-century date, 15 feet wide by about 36 feet long, placed east and west. There

was a chamfered plinth on its north and east sides. The south wall was 4 feet thick, and twenty-one inches from it to the north was a narrow parallel wall arranged similarly to that supporting the dais in the frater. This building was separated from the infirmary yard by a small yard about 21 feet square, the north wall of which was continued in front of the north side of the building so as to leave a narrow passage-way between them.

From outside the entrance to the monks' cloister there was an unbroken wall running westward, parallel to the north side of the lay-brothers' infirmary, for 116 feet, when it returned northward inclosing an open court to the west of the cloister, which will be referred to later. Immediately to the west of the junction of these two walls was a pit about 6 feet square, which was evidently a kitchen midden. It contained a quantity of soft evil-smelling black earth, but there were no objects of interest discovered, though the whole was completely dug out to see if any such could be found. From the south side of this midden were three walls radiating southward, the western wall continued in a south-westerly direction for fifty-six feet and then ended abruptly. The middle wall, which was constructed with through bonding courses of brick, went for about the same distance, when it crossed the drain, and with a slight deflection joined the north-west angle of the yard to the west of the infirmary. The third and easternmost wall existed for some forty-four feet but could not be traced further. Eastward of this last wall were fragmentary remains of other walls, which appear to have formed a building divided into four rooms. Beneath the south wall of this building was found a portion of a drain or water channel formed of hollow trunks of trees. It may be suggested that, after the destruction of the cellarage of the cellarer's building, these buildings were erected for that purpose.

Eastward of these chambers, and almost half-way between them and the cellarer's building, was a large hearth formed of bricks on edge, similar to that of the kitchen in the monks' infirmary. It belonged to an

apartment that had a tiled floor and a wall 18 inches thick on the east side, but as no walls could be found on the other sides they were probably made of wood. The building was apparently the kitchen required to serve the lay-brothers' infirmary, with which it was doubtless connected by a passage-way. It was also connected by an alley 13 feet wide to the passage along the outside of the cloister.

To the west of the cloister was the large court already mentioned. Its east side was formed by the wall of the passage from the cellarer's building to the church. Its north side was covered by another passage overlapping a bay and a-half of the great church and a two-storied building slightly out of line with it. This passage-way was directly connected with that on the east. The west side of the court was formed by a wall having a wide gateway in the middle of a range of buildings.

THE GUEST-HOUSE.

The two-storied building to the west of the great church was one of two or more houses for the accommodation of guests usually attached to a Cistercian house. Judging by the similarity of its detail with that of the chapter-house and monks' infirmary, it must have been built about the year 1200, at a time when the old church was standing. It was found in a very perfect condition to about eighteen inches above its original floor, but the north-west corner could not be excavated owing to a large oak tree.

The building was 44 feet from east to west, by $20\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide. The lower story was vaulted in four bays, and had a middle row of round columns with moulded bases and chamfered plinths of the same section as those in the later part of the lay-brothers' infirmary. Upon the south side, in the third bay from the east, was a wide entrance doorway of a single chamfered order.

Externally each bay was marked by a shallow buttress, and the angles had clasping buttresses supported upon deep-splayed plinths. At the west end was a contemporary apartment, having in the south-west angle the pit from a gardrobe on the first floor. The chamber was apparently entered by a doorway in the north-west angle of the guest-hall, and had a gardrobe against the west wall next to the pit from the one above. The guest-house floor, like those in other parts of the abbey, was raised at a later period, and a fragment of the later flooring, which was of squared stones, remained to the west of the first pillar from the east. Against the south wall, below the later level, was a brick drain, which passed out through the entrance doorway, and against the north wall was another drain formed of ridge tiles set on edge. Both drains were evidently put in to keep the room dry. A fire-place, of which the masonry forming its back remained in a fragmentary state, was apparently inserted, in the second bay from the east on the south side, at the time the floor was raised. How the upper floor was originally approached is difficult to see, unless a mass of foundation outside the east end supported a vice which was subsequently removed. Or the stair may have been an external one against the north-west angle.

After the later church was built, the space left between it and the guest-house was formed into a small chamber, entered from the south by a doorway of a single square member. The floor of this chamber was also raised at a later period, and a drain inserted to carry off the damp.

The passage along the south side of the guest-house and projecting part of the church, seems to have had an upper story over the western part and an entrance from the court opposite the doorway to the guest-house. Westward of this entrance the passage wall was thickened for the base of a straight staircase, of which one, and part of a second, step remained at the west end. The passage wall continued westward to a wall in line with the west side of the guest-house gardrobe, and apparently, the square space thus formed beyond the

SOUTH WALL FROM WEST END.

COLUMNS IN MIDDLE OF GROUND STORY.

line of the west end of the guest-house, was a basement for an extension of the upper gardrobe, as at two and a-half feet inside the west wall was a parallel wall forming a gardrobe pit. At a later period, probably in the fourteenth century, a square building, which may have been a porch, was added to the foot of the staircase, and the western boundary of the great court was built. This latter has, in the middle of its length, a wide gateway that had wooden posts and double-leaved doors, of which the staddle stones to support the posts remained on either side. On the inside of this court wall was a narrow pentise, supported by wooden posts resting on chamfered stone blocks, of which one on each side of the gateway remained in position, while others were found loose. It had a tiled floor, of which a fragment remained in position to the south of the gateway. The pentise seems to have been destroyed later, and a building, the full width of the porch at the foot of the guest-house stairs, was erected along the west wall of the court, with return walls on either side of the gateway. This building may have been for stables, for the accommodation of the guests' horses.

THE MALT-HOUSE AND BREW-HOUSE.

Westward of the court just described was a large block of buildings set diagonally with the cardinal points. It was all destroyed above the ground level, but existed to varying heights up to three feet above the original floors. The original work seems to have been of late twelfth-century date, but had been considerably altered, and added to in later days. The block may be roughly said to consist of two buildings, which will be afterwards shown to have been the malt-house and brew-house. The former was an oblong building to the south-east, with a large vat projecting from the middle of the north-west wall. The

latter was a large square building, the east angle of which fitted into that formed by the vat and malt-house. This has had other buildings added to the north-east and south-west, and there was a yard between the former of these additions and the end of the malt-house.

The malt-house was 49 feet from south-west to north-east by 16 feet wide. It was of two or more stories in height, that part remaining belonged to a cellar, and was constructed with freestone quoins at the inside angles. Externally, it had clasping buttresses at its north and east angles, and a pilaster buttress of equal projection in the middle of the south-east wall, with another near, but not at, the south angle. In the middle of the two bays formed by these buttresses, were the sills of narrow windows, very low down, which had chamfered jambs externally and wide splays internally. In the middle of the north-east end was a broken recess that seems to have marked the entrance to the cellar by steps from a higher level. In the north-west wall, eight feet from the north angle, was a slightly splayed opening ten inches in the clear, but for what purpose is difficult to see. The south end of this wall, close to the floor, had been chopped away, presumably for some long wooden fitting. Apparently in the thirteenth century, the cellar was reduced in size by building a wall $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet in thickness inside the original south-west wall. It seems at this time to have been vaulted, as an apex stone of diagonal ribs was found, which, as they intersected each other at almost a right angle, showed that it was divided into three bays. Later, perhaps in the fifteenth century, a fire-place was built in the southern bay, blocking up one of the original windows, the square space behind being built solid, in order to support something upon the floor above. Outside the south-west end, at a distance of $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet, was a parallel wall that apparently supported an outside staircase to the upper floor. Projecting from the middle of the north-west wall of the malt-house, was a large circular steeping vat 14 feet across, of which the original access seems to have been on the south-west,

where was a short piece of walling at a higher level than the floor of the vat, that may have been the site of the opening thereto.

The brew-house was an almost square building, being 49 feet from north-west to south-east by 40 feet wide. It was divided lengthwise into two chambers of almost equal width by a wall, in line with the south-west end of the malt-house. The north-east wall of the northern division had, towards the middle of its length, a recess 11 feet wide, that may have been for a fire-place. There was a wide projecting jamb of freestone on its east side, but the corresponding projection, if there had ever been one, was destroyed. The south-west wall had externally two pilaster buttresses, placed unequally with the west angle, round which was no clasping buttress to correspond with them. The south-eastern part of this wall had been completely destroyed, together with the return wall on the south-east.

In late times both divisions were altered. The southernmost was divided across the middle by a wall, and had a brick drain inserted under the floor. There were remains of further subdivisions to the south, but so fragmentary as to be unintelligible. On the south-west was an added building, about 18 feet square, whose south-east wall was in line with that across the southern half of the brew-house. The northern division had a late wall inserted at nine feet from the north-east wall, and a cross wall at right angles to it abutting the middle of the recess in that wall. There was an open brick drain put across this half of the brew-house at the northern end.

The north-west wall of the brew-house was continued northward, and against its south side were two late chambers. The western one was of the same width as the vat, and had a brick floor with surface drains. The other chamber had a small yard to the south-east, bounded on the north-east by a wall in line with, but of earlier date than, the chamber itself.

There were no indications of any doors in the walls or of fittings other than mentioned.

The existence of the large vat gives a clue to the use of these buildings, which can only have been the malt-house with the brew-house adjoining. Brewing formed a considerable item in the economy of all religious houses in this country, and very large buildings were required for the purpose, but with the exception of that at Fountains no other example of these buildings is known.[1] There the malt-house occupied the lower floor of a large aisled building, 60 feet from north to south by 57 feet wide, with a large steeping vat 18 feet across, at the south end. The upper floor or floors appear to have been used for brewing purposes. At Waverley the houses for malting and brewing were arranged differently, and with all absence of any definite fittings the number of divisions are at first puzzling. In connection with a brewery there may be said to be two distinct occupations to be provided for; namely, malting and brewing; and if the requirements for these two processes be considered, the arrangement of the buildings can be followed with tolerable certainty.

In malting the barley had first to be steeped in water for three days or less, for which purpose the large vat was required. After the water was all run off, it was placed in a heap until it began to shoot, when it was spread about upon a floor, which appears to have been that over the cellar. It was then dried in a kiln, which was probably placed over the block of masonry at the south-west end. When the barley was properly dried it was taken to the mill to be ground, after which it was brought back to the brew-house.

In brewing, the grist, as the ground barley is called, was mashed in a tank, and then run into an under-bath, from which the wort was run off or pumped into a copper for boiling. The receptacles for these processes appear to have been arranged over the south-west side of the brew-house. From the copper the fluid was run off through a species of filter into the coolers, which

[1] The malt-house at Kirkstall was found to the south-west of the great guest-house, but has been destroyed since it was excavated.

were probably on the northern side of the brew-house, and from the coolers to the fermenting tank in the gyle-house, after which it was then run off into the barrels for use. The gyle-house, in monastic breweries, was apparently a distinct building, for which the large chamber to the north was admirably suited. The cellar under the malt-house was apparently, before the insertion of the fire-place, used as a storage for barrels, which seem to have been filled from the gyle-house by pipes which passed through the narrow opening in the north-west wall of the cellar already described.

THE INFERIOR GUEST-HOUSE AND SECULAR INFIRMARY.

Northward of the malt-house and brew-house was another large group of buildings, consisting of a large building placed north and south, with a smaller one at its south end, and an added building to the west. The buildings were all destroyed above ground, and remained to only some twelve inches above the original floors. Owing to a considerable amount of post-Suppression work overlaying the earlier, and two large culverts of the same date cutting through this block, the arrangements, especially of the large building, were almost entirely destroyed.

The large building was 70 feet long from north to south by 44 feet wide. Externally the angles had chamfered plinths under the quoins, which did not continue along the walls. This feature is generally characteristic of thirteenth-century work. The width of the building would necessitate its being divided by columns, of stone or wood, into a nave with aisles. At the north end remained the west jamb of a doorway, of a single chamfered member, opening outwards. The south end was parted off by a stone screen, at ten feet from the south wall; in which, at its west end, was the

jamb of a doorway, of a single hollow chamfer, that had been built up in later times. Towards the middle of the west wall was a block of masonry projecting into the building, possibly for a fire-place. If this building were a hall, as its character implies, the lesser building at its south end would seem to have been the buttery and pantry.

The smaller building was the same length as the width of the hall, by 18 feet wide, but placed to the west about 12 feet. The south-east angle was treated with a plinth under the quoins, in the same manner as the hall, but at its west end were two buttresses, not quite opposite the line of the side walls. In the middle of the south wall was a block of foundation about 6½ feet square, projecting both internally and externally, which perhaps supported a vice to an upper story. At the west end of the same wall was a doorway, of a single chamfered member, leading outwards, and to the east of it was a gap in the wall that seemed to indicate that another doorway had been inserted there. In the east wall, at its north end, was the south jamb of another original doorway leading inwards. This building had been divided in later days by a cross wall at fifteen feet from the east end.

Outside the doorway at the west end of the south wall, were tushes in the wall and the foundations, for a short distance, of two walls of a passage leading southward, probably to a kitchen in that direction now entirely destroyed.

Eastward of the pantry and buttery was a walled yard, in the south-west angle of which, adjoining the main building, was a gardrobe.

The building on the west side of the hall was little, if any, later in date than the rest of the block. It was 54 feet from east to west by 42 feet wide, and appears in the first place to have been a hall divided by wooden posts into a nave with aisles. The blocks, 28 inches square with chamfered edges, to support the two west posts and the next one on the north remained, and the foundations of the third on the south were also

found. In later days this building was very considerably altered by subdividing. A wall was built between the two west posts and returned along the north side to the middle of the third bay, where it turned northward up to the aisle wall. In the second bay was a small oven, built when the wall was added, but for what purpose is difficult to say. There was a gap for a doorway in the wall just westward of the second post. A small drain crossed the aisle northward near the site of the third post. On the south side the division wall was also built in front of the posts, and close to the foundation of the third post were two steps of a greese leading to an upper floor, apparently over the aisles only. An earlier foundation was found at a different angle from the rest of the buildings, in the middle of the nave, but it is not certain to what it belonged.

The use of these buildings, from their position, seems to have been for the accommodation of guests, and the arrangement is not unlike the group for the same purpose in a similar position at Kirkstall. The superior guest-house, as already described, adjoined the west end of the church, so that this block, if for the use of guests, must have been for those of inferior position. The building on the west, judging from its plan and subsequent subdivision, was the infirmary for the lay folk. A building for this purpose existed at Waverley as early as 1229, when the abbot Adam, formerly subprior of the convent, instituted that a private mass should be said, on the day of burial or the morrow, for all strangers dying in the secular infirmary.[1] There were also secular infirmaries at Meaux,[2] Pipewell, Newminster, and Furness. At Fountains was an *infirmitorium pauperum*,[3] which if the same as the secular

[1] *Annales de Waverleia*, 119 *b*.

1229. "Obiit dominus Adam quondam abbas Waverleiensis . . . . Hic instituit ut una privata missa diceretur pro singulis hospitibus in infirmitorio sæcularium morientibus, in die sepulturæ eorum, sive in crastino, quod antea in domo nostra non fiebat."

[2] *Chronica de Melsa* (Rolls Series, 1866), ii. 6., iii. 229.

[3] *Yorkshire Archæological Journal*, xv. 392, where Mr. Hope also refers to the lay-folks' infirmaries above named.

infirmary, which is probable, shows its connection with the inferior guests, and explains the position of the buildings at Waverley.

Northward of the secular infirmary was an open yard, bounded on the north and west by a thick wall. That on the west side turned to the south-west, opposite the north-west angle of the infirmary, and after continuing twenty-four feet turned again more to the west and then stopped. The wall on the north side deflected towards the north, opposite the north-west angle of the guest-hall, and after running for forty-seven feet stopped in the middle of a small building placed north and south.

This building was apparently of late twelfth-century date, and was 26 feet from north to south by 17 feet wide. It had a doorway, of a single chamfered member, in the middle of its north end, a recess presumably for a fire in its east side, and another recess in the west wall towards the north end. It was divided in later times by a cross wall at eight and a-half feet from the south end. It is difficult to see the use of this building, but it may have been the checker of the cellarer.

The portion of the wall already mentioned, from the angle of the guest-hall to this checker, was in later times made the end wall of a large barn that ran northward from it. This barn was 93 feet long by 36 feet wide, and was entered on its west side by a doorway 5 feet wide, having plain jambs with a small plinth. There was indication of another doorway at the north end. The whole was very roughly built, and appears to have been of quite later date.

Eastward of this barn and the guest-house was a large court, with a pitched pavement, that extended at least eighty feet to the east of these buildings, and formed the inner court of the monastery.

In line with the barn at its south end, and oversetting the guest-hall, was a large room of post-Suppression date, that had a wooden floor carried upon sleepers. Other walls of the same period in brick were found to the south-west, but in a fragmentary condition, while over the pantry, buttery, and secular infirmary, were found portions of brick floors.

Running north from the north-west angle of the church was a long wall, also of post-Suppression work, that had a greenhouse on its west face, and in front it was a pitched paving of an irregular shape leading off into garden paths. There were other comparatively modern walls to the north. All this late work appears to have been in connection with a house built on the site of, and doubtless out of, the ruins after the Suppression, and was that which Aubrey saw and describes as having certain rooms newly built.

BUILDING MATERIALS.

The materials employed in the buildings, except the Purbeck marble, were all obtained in the neighbourhood. The freestone used for dressings is of malmstone from the upper greensand formations to the north of Farnham, and though a durable stone in dry situations, very quickly fell to pieces when exposed to the frost in the excavations. The walling generally was of iron-stone, also found close to Waverley, built in random rubble. In the late twelfth-century work of the chapter-house a large quantity of chalk, also obtainable near Farnham, was mixed with the iron-stone as rubble, and is used in some places as dressings, but only very sparingly. In the late additions bricks of a good quality were used in the walls as bonding courses, as well as for the flooring mentioned in the description of the various buildings. The Purbeck marble was used for capitals, bases and detached columns in most of the late twelfth- and early thirteenth-century buildings, and in all cases was bedded with thin sheets of lead. The custom of bedding the marble with lead in the thirteenth century is the cause of the general destruction of marble columns in buildings that have been subjected to the despoilers of the Suppression, as even these bits

of lead were made an item of profit.[1] The mortar throughout is of a poor quality.

A few interesting fragments, besides those already described in their places, were found in the excavations. Plate 14 shows some of these, the most noteworthy being the four-wick cresset in the left-hand picture. Fragments of two other cressets were found, and one had a handle worked in the stone at the side, between two of the cups for oil. The capital to the right of the cresset in the picture is ornamented with twelfth-century foliage, and perhaps came from the cloister, of the date of the rebuilding of the chapter-house. The right-hand picture shows a perfect headstone to a grave, a capital of pure Norman character obviously from the first church, and a later twelfth-century one.

The roofs appear to have been covered with various materials; lead was found in small quantities and was probably used on the church and chief buildings; tiles were found very sparingly in other places, but where used the ridges were covered with purpose-made tiles of rounded section and ornamented with a scalloped cresting.

The floors of the church and principal buildings were covered with tiles, which when found in position were plain ones of two colours forming a diaper or other simple pattern.

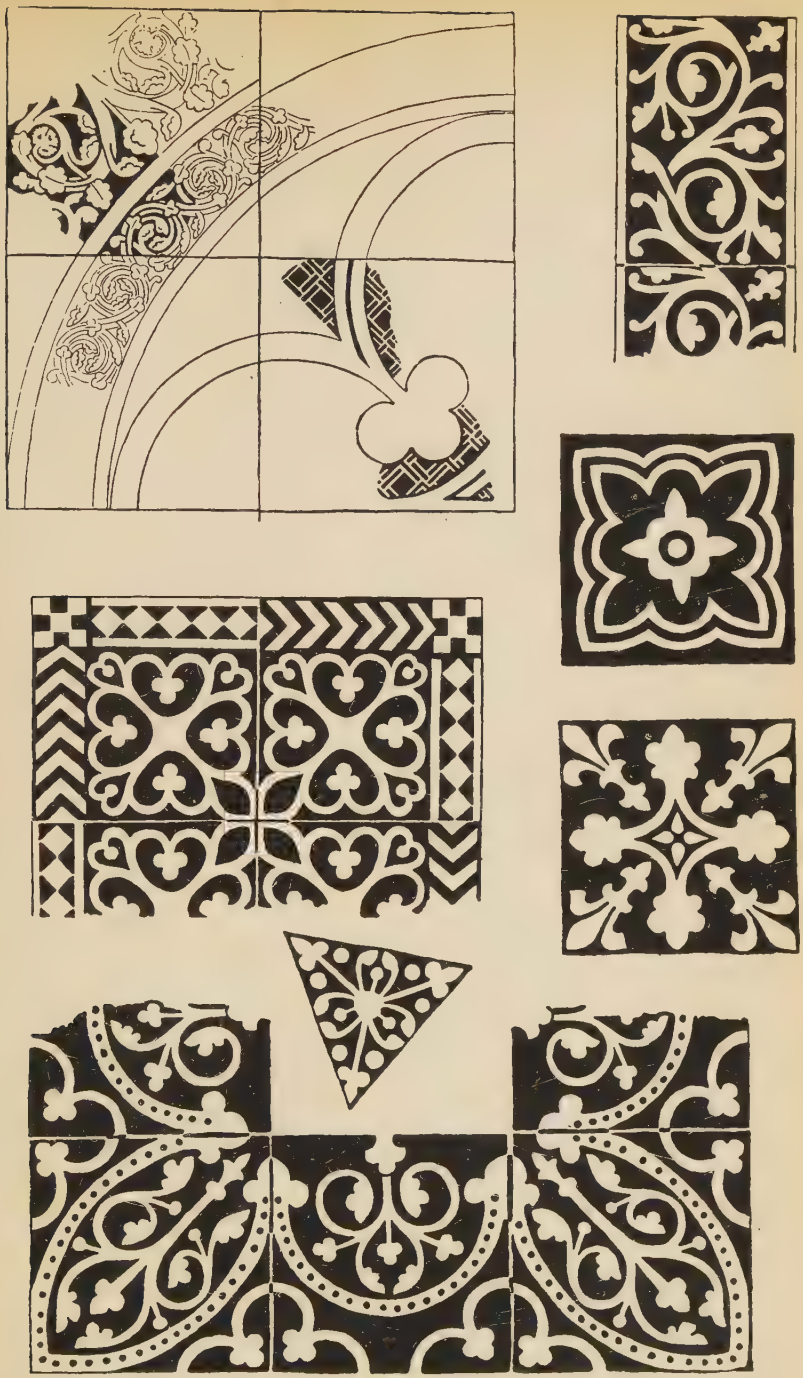
The encaustic tiles were apparently all sold at the Suppression, for, though numerous fragments of many designs were found in all parts of the buildings, very few perfect tiles were discovered. These tiles are mostly of thirteenth-century date and may be roughly classed in two divisions from the materials employed in their manufacture. The first, of which the majority of the patterns belongs, is formed of tiles made with good red clay, having the pattern deeply incised and filled with white slip, well burnt together and glazed

[1] *Rievaulx Cartulary* (Surtees Society), lxxxiii. ccclxxv. "The lede of the joyntes of pyllers and other placys, of as much as is defased of the premyssis there, now is fastenyd within stonys not lose, sold to — Benson of York for xxvj*s.* viij*d.*"

SHOWING FOUR WICK CRESSET AND ORNATE CAPITAL FROM CLOISTER.

SHOWING HEADSTONE OF GRAVE AND CAPITAL FROM FIRST CHURCH.

face 86.



TILES FOUND AT WAVERLEY ABBEY.

face 86.

3 6 9 12 INCHES

TILES FOUND AT WAVERLEY ABBEY.

face 86.

0 6 12 INCHES

TILES FOUND AT WAVERLEY ABBEY.

face 86.

with a yellow glaze of not very good quality. The other division consists of tiles of coarse design and inferior material. The slip is only slightly incised and lost in places by the dark green glaze employed. The tiles are mostly twisted in baking.

The patterns, which can be seen from the accompanying plates, are mostly of foliated designs of ordinary type, but those having circles and diagonal lines with the spaces filled with roses, stars, and other devices, are unusual, so also is the nine-tile pattern at the bottom of Plate 15, as a multiple of two is the more usual number of tiles required to make a group. The circular and triangular tiles appear to have formed part of a large scheme of shaped tiles like those found at Jervaulx.

Besides these two divisions of tiles, a few fragments were found of a different nature, formed of the clay and white slip hard burnt and glazed very evenly, and of much superior quality to any of the rest. These fragments (the top set on Plate 15), formed part of a large sixteen-tile pattern of unusual and beautiful design, so similar to a set from Chertsey[1] as to lead to the supposition that they came from the same kilns. This is practically confirmed by the discovery of another fragment, of a similar quality, identical with one of the Chertsey tiles.[2]

Numerous fragments of plain white and green tiles were also found, which would be used as relieving bands between the ornamental patterns. These and also a number of the encaustic tiles were scored with diagonal lines for ease of breaking when required for half tiles against the square borders, the patterns being set diagonally. A few tiles, two inches thick, and having the pattern of interlacing circles, incised and glazed, were also found. This kind of tile, though common in the north, is not so often met with in the southern and western counties.

[1] *Tile Pavements* (*London*, 1858), by Henry Shaw, plate xx.
[2] *Ibid.* plate xix., middle tile on right.

A quantity of broken pottery of both brown and green glazed ware was found, but in no case was a perfect piece or sufficient fragments to make one discovered. One fragment, of a handle of twelfth-century green ware, should be mentioned. It consists of the head, shoulders, and arms of a soldier wearing a pointed helmet with a nose guard. The right hand is broken, but the left holds what looks like a snake which issues from the mouth.

FRAGMENT OF GREEN GLAZED POTTERY.

Glass was met with in very small quantities, but some of it retained painted lines and was of different colours, showing that at Waverley, as in other Cistercian abbeys, the rule that only white glass was to be used had been quite ignored.[1]

One of the most interesting relics found was an ornamental copper boss from the back of a book. It dates from the early twelfth century, and is a good example of enamelling of that period. A half-length robed figure of our Saviour occupies the middle, having the right hand held in benediction and a closed book in the left. The head is slightly bent to the right and nimbed with a cruciform nimbus, the ground of which is of red enamel. The background is of green enamel, and has on either side the head and under the arms lozenge-shaped ornaments of polished gold. The whole is encircled with a plain margin, consisting of two narrow lines of gold with a band of white enamel between. The boss was fixed to the book by four rivets.

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[1] At Tintern the great east window was filled with glass containing the arms of the founder and his family, which would appear to have been as early as the building itself. The great windows at Fountains were inserted to hold painted glass, as quantities of broken fragments were found beneath them.

12TH CENTURY COPPER BOOK BOSS FOUND IN MONKS' INFIRMARY, WAVERLEY ABBEY.

THE WATER SUPPLY.

In the first days of the abbey the water supply was obtained from a spring called Ludewelle, and the aqueducts to carry the water to the lavatory in the abbey were finished in 1179.[1] To a good supply of pure water most abbeys owe their exact positions, and, if possible, the water was procured by gravitation, which in the case of the Cistercians, who invariably built in valleys, was not difficult to obtain. The great importance attached to a good supply is apt to be overlooked, but it should be remembered that to it alone are due the only existing mediæval plans of monastic houses in this country, namely, that of Christ's Church at Canterbury, of about 1150,[2] and that of the London Charterhouse, of about 1430.[3] In 1215 the original supply at Waverley, "not without great astonishment, dried up." But a monk called Symon "at length found a living spring," which, "after great difficulty, enquiry, and invention and not without much labour and sweating," he brought by channels underground to the offices of the abbey.[4] The story is told at great length in the Annals, and much honour seems to have been accorded to the ingenious brother. The spring was called "St. Mary's Well," and still flows in the grounds of Moor Park at some 570 yards to the east from the abbey buildings. It was usual for the water to be carried from the source, where there was generally an accumulating cistern, by lead pipes to a conduit or lavatory in the infirmary, and from thence to be dispersed, also by lead pipes, to the various offices in the rest of the monastery. An ingenious method employed at Canterbury, and doubtless elsewhere, when frost or other causes temporarily stopped the usual supply, was to have a storage tank in the shape of a well adjoining the conduit, and a column close by with a

[1] *Annales de Waverleia*, 85 *b*.

1179. "Hoc tempore lavatorium nostrum, et aquæductus parata sunt."

[2] R. Willis, *Architectural History of the Conventual Buildings of the Monastery of Christ Church in Canterbury* (1869), 174.

[3] *Archæologia*, lviii. 293. [4] *Annales de Waverleia*, 106 *b*.

reservoir at the top. When occasion arose the water from the well was placed or pumped into the column, and from it the offices were supplied until the stoppage in the regular supply was removed. The well-head and column with a large cushion cap is clearly shown on the Norman drawing, and is lettered "Columpna in quam ductu aque deficiente potest hauriri aqua de puteo et administrabitur omnibus officinis." The well has recently been found at Durham, but in that case it adjoined the lavatory in the cloister.[1]

THE FISH PONDS.

Another almost equally important necessity to monasteries was the constant supply of fish, which was generally obtained by having a series of ponds or stews in the near neighbourhood, even when there were excellent fishing rivers. With the Cistercians fish was prohibited, except to the sick, until the thirteenth century, so that accommodation on a large scale for their rearing and storage was not required until that time.

At Waverley the exact date of this change of diet is marked by William de Raleigh, bishop of Winchester, giving the monks a piece of ground on the north in his warren of Farnham, "from a little bridge below Tilleford along the watercourse, which is called Crikeledeburne, towards Cherte," at the annual rent of 6*s.* 8*d.*, to make a fish pond. The pond was begun in 1250 and finished the year following.[2] "An irruption of the pond-head, attended by much havoc and devastation, took place

[1] *Archæologia*, lviii. 453.

[2] *Annales de Waverleia*, 144 *b*.

1250. "Obiit dominus Willelmus de Raleger, Wyntoniensis episcopus, in Gallia, et sepultus est in ecclesia Sancti Martini civitate Turonum. Hic antequam transfretasset, concessit et carta sua nobis confirmavit situm unum, ad vivarium faciendum, in brueria sua, infra warennam suam de Farnham, qui situs incipit a parvo ponte ultra Tilleford, extendens se per ductum aquæ, quæ vocatur Crikeledeburne, versus Cherte; reddendo annuatim pro prædicto vivario sibi vel successoribus suis dimidiam marcam. Fuit autem hoc anno illud vivarium inchoatum, sed non penitus consummatum."

on November 29th, 1841. . . . . The pond has since been drained and the land cultivated."[1] This pond occupied about fourteen acres, was about a mile south of Tilford, and is shown on maps as "the Abbot's Pond" as late as 1860.

In addition to this pond are the remains of a smaller fish pond, of about two and a-half acres, about half-a-mile from the abbey, and "the Black Lake," of nine acres, a little to the south, is probably of monastic origin for the same purpose.

SEALS.[2]

Of the original seal of Waverley Abbey no impressions seem to have been noticed. Like most of the early seals of Cistercian abbeys, *e.g.* Byland, Dore, Fountains, Furness, Kirkstead, and Merevale, it probably bore a standing figure of the abbot holding his crosier, with such a legend as SIGILLUM ABBATIS DE WAVERLEIA.

This uniformity in the seals of the Cistercian houses was crystallised by an order of a General Chapter, held in 1200, which enacted:

> Nec in sigillis Ordinis discordia habeantur, sed sola effigie cum baculo, vel manu sola et baculo figurentur.

This ordinance is repeated in the *Institutiones Capituli Generalis* of 1240 and 1256.[3]

According to the Annals of Waverley, in the year 1221,

> Sigillum domus nostræ mutatum est in crastino videlicet beati Kalixti Papæ et martyris.[4]

What was involved in this change can not at present be said, as no impression of the second seal of the Abbey is as yet forthcoming. Impressions are, however, in

[1] E. W. Brayley, *History of Surrey* (Dorking, N.D.), v. pt. 1. 289.

[2] The writer is indebted to Mr. W. H. St. John Hope for this note upon the seals of the abbey.

[3] *Nomasticon Cisterciense*, 330.

[4] *Annales de Waverleia*, 112 *b*.

existence[1] of the counterseal belonging to it, which again is of a universal Cistercian pattern. It is a small pointed oval, bearing a sleeved arm issuing from the sinister side, with the hand grasping a crosier. Over the hand are a star and crescent, and issuing from the dexter side is a row of five-stalked flowers. The legend is:

+ CONTR[A . SIG'] ABBACIE DE WAVERLEIA.

The occasions of use of the two forms of seal are clearly set forth in the *Liber Antiquarum Definitionum* drawn up in 1289—1316. Under *Distinctio IX.* i, entitled *De sigillis et sigillatione litterarum*, it is directed:

> Nec ullus Abbas sigillo suo permittat litteras sigillari, nisi prius eas viderit vel audierit; nec pergameno vacuo seu papyro sigillum suum apponi, nec plura quam duo sigilla habere præsumat: minus scilicet, cujus inscriptio talis sit: *Contrasigillum talis abbatiæ*, quo utatur in minoribus negotiis, et quo præcipue emissorum litteræ sigillentur; et alterum majus quo utatur in majoribus. Et ne diversitas in sigillis nostris habentur, sigilla majora sola effigie cum baculo pastorali figurentur et sic inscribantur: *Sigillum Abbatis talis abbatiæ.*[2]

The only other known Waverley seal dates from about 1310.[3] It is in shape a pointed oval, and bears a figure of Our Lady sitting on a seat, with the Holy Child standing upon her left knee. In her right hand she holds a rose bush. The seat is placed beneath a rounded and trefoiled canopy with architectural head, and has the background powdered with tiny flowers. In base, under an arch with trefoiled spandrels, is a kneeling figure of a monk. The marginal legend is:

S' A[BB]ATIS ET CONVENTU[S . . . . D]E WAVERLEIA.

It was enacted early in the fourteenth century that

> In omnibus sigillis conventuum imago beatæ Mariæ imprimatur, et sigilla ipsa de cupro fabricentur.

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[1] *E.g.* appended to Additional Charter 5548 in the British Museum, of the date 1282.

[2] *Nomasticon Cisterciense*, 436.

[3] An impression is appended to the 14th century Harley Charter 75, G. 14, in the British Museum.

WAVERLEY ABBEY

EARLY COUNTERSEAL AND LATER COMMON SEAL OF THE ABBEY.

face 92.

And this rule is repealed in the *Liber Novellarum Definitionum* of 1350.[1]

Many other English abbeys besides Waverley had seals made in accordance with the new rule, bearing the image of Our Lady, including Hulton, Kingswood, Kirkstead, Kirkstall, Margam, Merevale, etc.

DAUGHTER HOUSES.

Although not referring directly to the architectural history of Waverley, a short notice of the houses that owed their origin to that abbey may not be out of place, as they have already been mentioned to show the importance of the head house.

I. Garendon, two miles west of Loughborough in Leicestershire, was founded on the 28th of October, 1133, by Robert, Earl of Leicester, who endowed it with his lands of Dishley and the wood of Shepshed. The value at the Suppression was £159 : 19*s.* 10½*d.*

Bordesley, five miles to the east of Bromsgrove in Worcestershire, the first daughter of Garendon, was founded on the 22nd of November, 1138, by the Empress Maud, and the value at the Suppression was £388 : 9*s.* 10½*d.*

Merevale, a mile south-west of Atherstone in Warwickshire, the first daughter of Bordesley, was founded on the 10th of October, 1148, by Robert, earl of Ferrers, and valued at £254 : 1*s.* 8*d.* at the Suppression. Remains exist of the frater of thirteenth-century date, and the gate-house chapel incorporated in the parish church.

Flaxley or Dene Abbey, two miles north of Newenham in Gloucestershire, the second

[1] *Nomasticon Cisterciense*, 519.

daughter of Bordesley, was founded on the 30th of September, 1151, by Roger, earl of Hereford, and valued at £112 : 3*s.* 1*d.* at the Suppression. A small fragment of the western range exists, incorporated in a modern house.

Stoneleigh, two and a-half miles north-east of Kenilworth in Warwickshire, the third daughter of Bordesley, was first founded at Cannock in Staffordshire by the Empress Maud, but was transferred by her son, Henry II., on the 19th June, 1154, to Stoneleigh. It was valued at the Suppression at £151 : 3*s.* 1½*d.* The gatehouse and a range of buildings in connection remain.

Bittlesden, three and a-half miles north-east of Brackley in Buckinghamshire, the second daughter of Garendon, was founded on the 10th July, 1147, by Robert de Bosco, steward of the earl of Leicester, and valued at the Suppression at £125 : 4*s.* 3¼*d.*

II. Ford, four miles south-east of Chard in Devonshire, the second daughter of Waverley, was first founded at Brightly near Okehampton, by Richard, earl of Devon, on the 3rd May, 1136, but afterwards removed by his heiress to Ford. It was valued at the Suppression at £373 : 10*s.* 6½*d.*, and has left extensive remains incorporated in a house designed by Inigo Jones.

Bindon, five miles south-west of Wareham in Dorset, the first daughter of Ford, was founded on the 27th September, 1172, by Roger of Newburgh and Maud his wife. It was valued at the Suppression at £147 : 7*s.* 9¼*d.*, but had licence to continue. Remains exist of most of the buildings round the cloister.

Dunkeswell, five miles north-west of Honiton in Devon, the second daughter of Ford, was founded on the 16th November, 1201, by William Brewer, and valued at £294 : 18*s.* 6*d.* at the Suppression.

III. Thame, in Oxfordshire, the third daughter of Waverley, was founded on the 22nd July, 1137, by Sir Robert Gait, at Oddington, and shortly afterwards removed to Thame. The value at the Suppression was £256 : 13*s.* 7½*d.*

Rewley, in Oxford, was the only daughter of Thame, and was founded on the 11th December, 1281, by Richard, earl of Cornwall, and valued at the Suppression at £174 : 3*s.* 0½*d.*

IV. Bruerne, five miles north of Burford in Oxfordshire, the fourth daughter of Waverley, was founded on the 10th July, 1147, by Nicholas Basset, and valued at the Suppression at £134 : 10*s.* 10*d.*

V. Combe, five miles east of Coventry, the fifth daughter of Waverley, was founded on the 10th July, 1150, by Richard de Camville, and valued at £311 : 15*s.* 1*d.* at the Suppression. A considerable part of the buildings remain incorporated in a house.

VI. Grace Dieu, about five miles south-west of Monmouth, the sixth and last daughter of Waverley, was founded on the 24th April, 1226, by John of Monmouth, was twice destroyed by the Welsh and twice reinstated by the same founder. It was valued at the Suppression at only £19 : 4*s.* 4*d.*

The dates of foundation given above are from the *Originum Cisterciensium* (Vinderbone, 1877), and agree with the Annals of Waverley in the case of Garendon, Ford, Thame and Combe, the only ones of which the day of foundation is there stated.

The values at the Suppression are the clear returns of the Commissioners, 26 Henry VIII., as given in the *Monasticon Anglicanum* (London, 1825).

In conclusion, the writer wishes to tender his grateful thanks to Mr. Rupert Anderson, for allowing him free access to the objects of interest which are preserved in his house, and for his and Mrs. Anderson's gracious hospitality at all times; to the Rev. T. S. Cooper, for free use of his numerous photographs and for many of the tracings from which the illustrations of the tiles have been prepared; to Mr. Henry Horncastle, for his constant supervision of the excavations, his ever ready assistance with the measuring tape, and the excellent series of photographs from which so many of the illustrations are taken; and, last but not least, to his old friend, Mr. W. H. St. John Hope, for overlooking this paper for the press, for providing the interesting account of the abbey seals, and for various valuable references to Cistercian matter contained in its pages.

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